



HIROSHIMA

1945
1960

No. 1,258 London, August 5, 1960 6d. US Air Express
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20 arrests at Finningley H-bomber base

By IAN DIXON

ELEVEN men and seven women, supporters of the Northern Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, were on Saturday (July 30) sentenced at Doncaster West Riding Court to two periods of 7 days' imprisonment (to run concurrently) for non-violently obstructing the entrance to Finningley H-bomber base. Two men who paid a £2 fine and were "bound over to keep the peace" for 12 months were released after the court hearing.

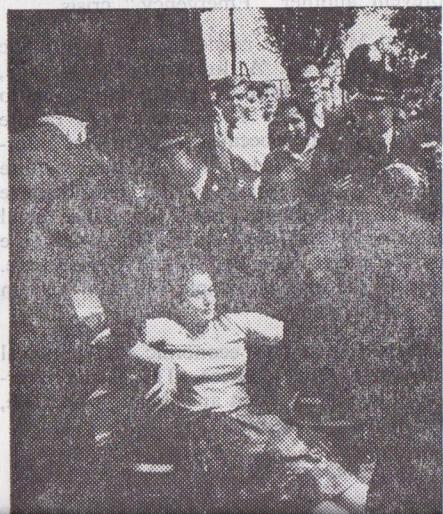
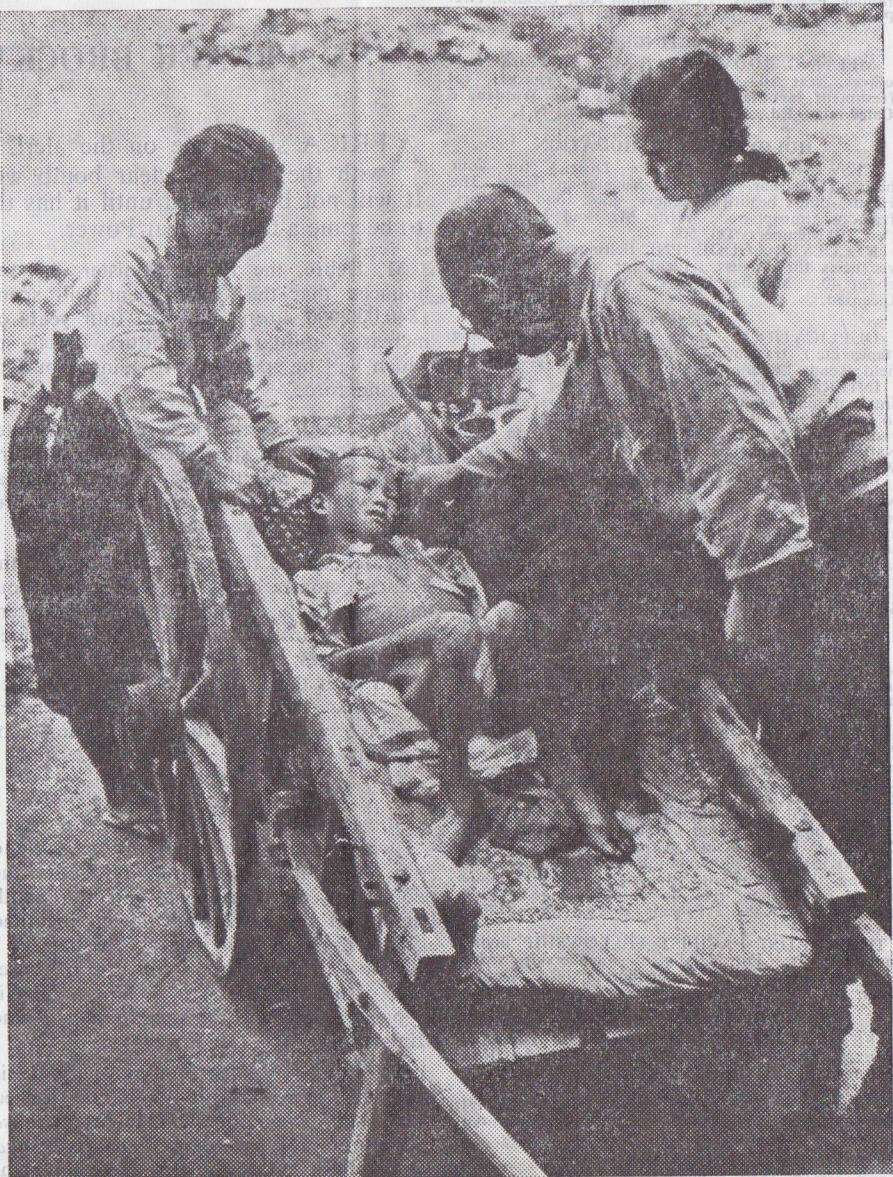
The demonstrators, who had slept in a church hall in Doncaster on the previous evening, assembled at the gates of the base

house nosed its way forward. After further cautioning the police signalled to Black Marias which backed across the road from the nearby RAF married quarters. Amidst swarms of press and cameramen, and the cheering, singing and clapping of about two hundred supporters, the demonstrators were picked up and driven off in three batches to Doncaster West Riding Police Headquarters.

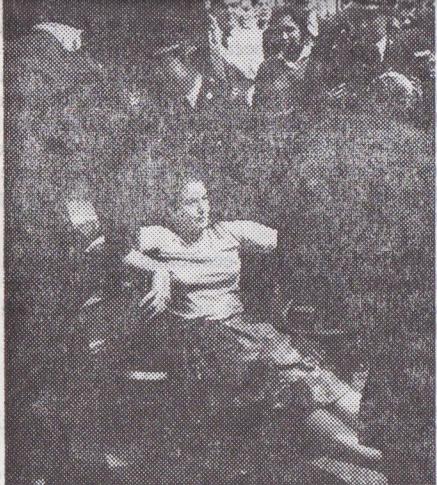
The Black Marias (closely followed by direct action supporters in cars), were jammed for a time in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament supporting march, but soon dropped out and sped off to Doncaster, where placard bearing vigillers cheered the prisoners into the back yard of the police station.

At a special hearing at Doncaster West Riding Court later that afternoon Leonard Bird, for the defence, stressed that the demonstrators had remained completely non-violent and had at all stages been quite open and courteous.

One of the prisoners, Mary Ringsleben,



NEVER AGAIN! It was a little atom bomb, now known as a strategic weapon that made this child one of the victims of World War II. Tomorrow, Saturday, on the fifteenth anniversary of the dropping of the first atom bomb, he and tens of thousands of fellow victims will be remembered all over the world.



Harrington Rocket Base demonstrator, Mavis Alman, is arrested at Finningley.

Shires Photography

midday Saturday. Messages of support had been received from the Ghana CND, the Foulness prisoners and others. At 12.58 p.m., under the "Operation Finningley" banner, they marched in column up to the closed gates where they squatted while 21-year-old Carol Taylor from Manchester made a statement.

The demonstrators were cautioned to no effect. The gates were then opened and a British Railways lorry which had entered the base shortly before the demonstration had begun and parked behind the guard-

Doncaster West Riding Police Headquarters.

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One of the prisoners, Mary Ringsleben, secretary of the NDAC, told the court:

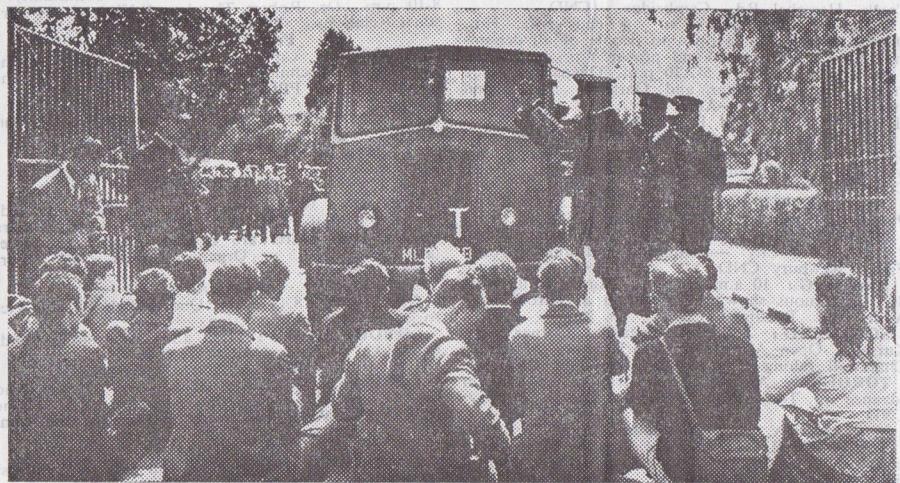
"The peace we are breaking is organised violence. It is organised against a few of us at Finningley now; it will be organised against whole nations in the future."

Three other political statements were made in court. One defendant refused to plead or recognise the right of the law to uphold "a wanton misuse of public property."

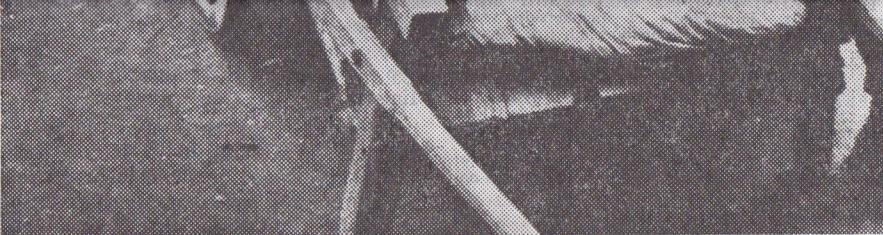
The magistrate in passing sentence said: "To a great extent you have our sympathy. It is your methods we dislike."

In a final CND rally at Doncaster Racecourse John Rex, lecturer in sociology at Leeds University, told supporters from all over Yorkshire that recent "manipulations of the democratic processes" made direct action doubly necessary. Other speakers

ON BACK PAGE



Moments before arrest—a British Railways lorry is obstructed as it tries to leave the Base.



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YARMOUTH, BRIGHTON, TORQUAY TO GET FACTS ABOUT H-BOMB

Hiroshima Day plans

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

TOMORROW, Saturday, on the anniversary of Hiroshima, holiday makers at three of Britain's largest seaside resorts will be shown what would happen in the area if a modern 10 megaton H-bomb fell there.

The three towns, **Great Yarmouth, Brighton and Torquay** will be rallying points for nuclear disarmament campaigners from all over Britain.

Marches, open-air meetings, vigils, and at Brighton the planting of a memorial tree at the Quaker centre form part of the intensive programme arranged for the weekend.

Special 4ft. x 2ft. placards will be displayed on the various perimeters of the area of damage and special "lollipops" and hundreds of thousands of leaflets have been printed.

Those wishing to participate should report to the following points:

Great Yarmouth: Saint Cloud, Euston Road (behind Aquarium).

Brighton: Friends Centre, Ship Street. **Torquay**: 2 Severn Road. Details of events in **Alton, Bournemouth, Bradford, Ilkley, Manchester, Newbury, and Southend** appear in the Diary on page two.

In **Chester**, where nearly 200 poster paraders caused a stir recently when it was seen that an MP, a former Mayor, JPs and others well known in the city were carrying

banners, there is to be a leaflet distribution in front of the Town Hall.

Youth groups in **London** and **Birmingham** are to maintain vigils from Friday midnight to Saturday midnight in remembrance of the Hiroshima victims.

"A petition, signed by all those who have taken part in the London demonstration, will be handed into 10 Downing Street urging Her Majesty's Government to give a lead to the world by unilaterally renouncing nuclear weapons to minimise the risk of such a disaster ever happening again," Arthur Ransen, YCND Press Officer, said last week.

The Birmingham group have not been allowed to hold their vigil at the city's war memorial.

"I have written to the provost to get permission to hold the vigil outside the Cathedral," Alan White, Chairman of the Birmingham YCND told *Peace News*. The venue was uncertain as *Peace News* went to press, but latest information may be obtained by phoning Harborne 2362.

Reading YCND have organised a continuous showing of the film "Children of

ON BACK PAGE



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MEETINGS

MEETING ROOMS AVAILABLE at Peace News offices, seat 10-40, very reasonable charges, refreshment facilities, piano. Apply The Warden, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London, N.1.

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DUPPLICATING, verbatim shorthand, typing (tapes etc.), translating. Mabel Eyles, 10 Beaconsfield Road, London, N.11. ENTERprise 3324.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

PEACE NEWS AND HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP welcome visitors 9.30 to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, to 1 p.m. on Saturday. Voluntary work always available. Peace literature, books of all kinds, personal/commercial stationery, greetings cards, etc., on sale.

WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave, Enfield, Middlesex.

LITERATURE

CONTACT—a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 8s. 9d., 12 months 17s. Box 1979, Cape Town, South Africa.

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"LIBERTE", the French pacifist monthly. 16s. a year post free from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, King's Cross, London, N.1.

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Africa must resist a Sahara H-test

E. A. BERGMAN



By **FENNER BROCKWAY, MP** *Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom*

AFRICA should be on the alert. The French Government is not content with the small nuclear bomb which it exploded in the Sahara last year. It will not be satisfied until it has the hydrogen bomb. France is determined to become a full Nuclear Power.

M. Debré, the Prime Minister, has announced that the Government will spend £840,000,000 during the next four years on increased military expenditure, much of which will be spent on providing a nuclear striking force.

What madness this is! It demonstrates that France, and she reflects other Powers, has no belief that the disarmament negotiations will lead to the end of nuclear preparations for human destruction.

I think of the thousands of people in the French colonies of Africa who are without adequate food, medical treatment, decent housing, education. France has exploited these peoples. How much more seemly it would be if the £840,000,000 were expended on giving the territories in the French Community the opportunity to become economically viable and evolving!

Status symbol

I wonder what the peoples of Africa and Asia, the peoples of Cyprus and Malta, the peoples of the Caribbean and the South Pacific, all those who have been regarded as less civilised than the "Christianised" Powers of Europe, think of this measurement of a nation's status? This is how it is put by M. Debré, the French Prime Minister:

"Political power among nations is coming more and more to be judged according to one of two categories: *those who have the bomb and the missile, and the others.* Only the first have the right to speak. The others are satellites."

The test of civilisation should be the absolute opposite to this monstrous doctrine. The most civilised country should be regarded as the nation which is contributing most to removing from man the threat of destruction by the bomb and which is

which are emerging to nationhood from the French Community will find themselves out of step with the rest of Africa.

My impression is that these territories, beginning with the Mali Federation, will steadily move towards the African view. After all, their peoples are African and are responsive to the same influences which are determining the attitude of all Africa.

I foresee a time when the whole of Africa by the voice of its leaders and by associated action in the United Nations, will give the "civilised" world a lead against the nuclear armament which France now accepts as the test of political greatness.

Congo : A third problem

In the Congo a third problem is added to Katanga and the withdrawal of Belgian troops. The problem of unemployment. The Belgians are clinging to their mines in the Katanga, but they have deserted their lesser industries. Thus temporary collapse. Hunger could lead to another crisis. Fortunately the United Nations can offer some immediate help, whilst Mr. Lumumba seeks more permanent economic aid.

The crisis extends to Southern Rhodesia, where Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister in an all-White Legislature, has been shocked to find that his arrest of their leaders has led to protest demonstrations by 100,000 Africans—this is not an exaggeration—in Salisbury, Gwelo and Bulawayo.

Mr. Garfield Todd, ex-Prime Minister, has dramatically come down on the African side, joining representatives of the National Democratic Party in urging the British Government to suspend the Constitution. This has meant his resignation of the leadership of the Central African Party, which was an inter-racial group of liberal

Europeans and Africans. It looks now as though the General African Party will disappear and that the struggle will develop openly between political organisations mainly of the two races. The signs are that in next year's elections the more extreme Dominion Party will even oust Sir Edgar and his Federal Party. This would involve a head-on clash with Africans.

One hope in S. Rhodesia

The one hope of saving Southern Rhodesia from undisguised racial conflict would be a constitutional conference at which the Africans and the National Democratic Party would be fully represented and at which British influence would be exerted for a democratic solution, giving an African majority in the Legislature. Failing this, there can be no alternative to the suspension of the Constitution.

The fate of Nyasaland is being decided this week at a London Conference. I write before its conclusion, but I anticipate that Dr. Banda will get his African majority in the Legislature. It is doubtful, however, whether he will get sufficient concessions to prevent another "Emergency" crisis.

And Malta, the island dictatorship to the north of Africa. A three-man Commission, without any Maltese representation, is to decide its future. It is doomed to failure before it begins because its terms of reference exclude self-determination and require that not only foreign policy and defence but internal security and the police shall remain in British hands. Malta has the misfortune to be a British and NATO base. But, in the end, its people will win through to independence.

Finally, Ghana's economic and personal boycott of South Africa. This is the severest blow yet struck at apartheid. Well done, President and people!

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SITUATIONS VACANT

ARE YOU A LINGUIST? War Resisters' International requires expert voluntary translators from English into Italian, Portuguese, French, German, Spanish. Details from: WRI, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middx.

HOUSEMOTHER, nursing experience, to assist warden pioneer scheme dealing with broken families. Pacifist mother with child welcome. Hicks, 36 Dale Rd., Purley, Surrey, Uplands 2122.

PEACE NEWS. 3-4 Months temporary work from September in Christmas Card department for practical and energetic worker. 5-day week, wages according to PN scale. Please send particulars to: The Manager, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

PEACE NEWS OFFICE will shortly (mid-September) have a vacancy in the publishing and editorial office for a competent typist with enthusiasm for the movement. Interesting and varied work. Please send particulars to: The Manager, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

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ON BACK PAGE

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The test of civilisation should be the absolute opposite to this monstrous doctrine. The most civilised country should be regarded as the nation which is contributing most to removing from man the threat of destruction by the bomb and which is directing its mind and resources to lifting its people to the highest human possibilities of life. The new nations have a great opportunity to contribute this new morality to the world.

Two aspects of this French policy are of special importance to Africa.

Second lesson

The French H-bomb will almost certainly be tested in the Sahara. The African States should not only protest. The African peoples should prepare for active resistance.

The Accra conference to plan positive action for peace by the peoples of Africa is now seen to be of the greatest importance. Its committee should renew activity at once.

There is a second lesson for Africa in what M. Debré has said. He remarked that France's allies do not always share her ideas, and he added that this is notably so where Africa is concerned. Modern defence, he said, is one of the necessities of this situation.

What did the French Prime Minister mean? He certainly had in mind the Congo, where France has been sympathetic with Belgium. He undoubtedly had also in mind Algeria.

This raises a critical question for the ten States which will become legally independent from France this year. Will they side with France or Africa?

Some of them propose to continue association with France in defence and foreign policy. Does this mean that they will support France in testing the H-bomb in the Sahara? Does it mean that they will support France if it fails to guarantee Algeria self-determination with impartial supervision of the plebiscite? If so, the States

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Saturday, August 13—Saturday, August 20

SWANSEA: Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon, WRI Study Course "Pacifism—a critical examination." 8 p.m.-10 p.m., PPU Summer Conference "Violence—its causes and remedies." Details from Stuart Morris, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Sunday, August 14

SWANSEA: Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Introductory Discussion Session. 8-10 p.m. Eddie Burke "Violence in Racial Relations." PPU and WRI.

Monday, August 15

SWANSEA: Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Harold Bing "Pacifism in the Past." 8-10 p.m. Roy Sherwood, paper on "Violence in International Relations," PPU and WRI.

Tuesday, August 16

SWANSEA: Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Jean van Lierde "Pacifism in the present," 8-10 p.m. Frank Dawtry "Violence in Crime and Punishment," PPU and WRI.

Wednesday, August 17

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Lower Fore St. Ralph Watson "Conflict, Pacifism, and Mental Health." Edmonton PPU.

SWANSEA: Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Hem Day "Pacifism and the State," 8-10 p.m. "Any Questions? Any Answers?" PPU and WRI.

Thursday, August 18

SWANSEA: Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Arthur Ulloth "Pacifism and the Community." 8-10 p.m. Dr. Robert Thouless "Violence in Personal Relations." PPU and WRI.

Friday, August 19

SWANSEA: Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Ian Dixon "Techniques of Peacemaking," 8-10 p.m. Social Evening. PPU and WRI.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Portobello or Golborne Rd. Peace Brook stall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Portchester PPU.

SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: 8.15 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd. Open-air meeting.

LONDON, N.W.3: 11.30 a.m. Whitestone Pond. Open Air Meeting. Hampstead CND.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. 'Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. near Green Man. F.10 and F.11 Group PPU.

'Guardroom CO' Sentence confirmed

THE sentence of 93 days detention given at his court-martial on July 18 to Geoffrey Hutchinson, the Aldermaston marcher and Christian pacifist who refused to wear uniform on arrival at a Royal Army Medical Corps unit at Crookham in Hants on June 23, has been confirmed.

He will serve the sentence at Crookham and hopes to get one third remission for good conduct. He will have the opportunity to appeal later next month.

The prisoner may receive any number of letters, but no newspapers or magazines, and is only allowed to write one letter a week. He may have any number of visitors by prior appointment with the adjutant.

C. W. Hope Gill, a *Peace News* reader from Alton, Hants, who visited Geoffrey Hutchinson on July 21 at Queen Elizabeth Barracks, where he is detained in the guardroom, told *Peace News* on Monday "He seems to be in good heart . . . and the fellows in charge of him seem to be a decent lot."

WHOSE HAND?

From a Correspondent

DRUM magazine appeared on Monday in Accra for the first time since it was banned by the Ghana Government last April. It was recently announced that the ban had been lifted following negotiations, but the editorial comment of the present issue has been hastily torn out. According to the table of contents it was entitled "The Hand on our Throat."

The blurb under the back page photo of Ghana's Minister of Agriculture, formerly Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. Kojo Botsio, was censored out in black ink in several places.

WHITE RABBITS



I DO not know what is the origin of the saying which associates white rabbits with the first of the month and good wishes for a happy month. Perhaps some readers of *Peace News* will send in their reactions. But in

DEBATE IN SOUTH AFRICA

'Non-violence: The best means of defence'

—says VERA BRITTAINE

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

IN a debate in Natal, South Africa, Vera Brittain, British writer and Chairman of Peace News, was supported by 22 votes to 14, with four abstentions, after moving that "non-violence was the best means of defence."

She was speaking before the "Durban Parliament," the city's well-known debating society, with about 100 people in the public gallery.

"The debate was received in good humour and without any boos from the rabid Nationalists who form part of the opposition," a correspondent told *Peace News*.

Referring to the application of pacifism in South Africa, Vera Brittain said, reports the *Natal Mercury*, that non-violent resistance to unjust laws has already been attempted by strikes, minor boycotts and peaceful protest marches against authority.

"This type of protest is capable of infinite development."

The only satisfactory answer to the threat of the H-bomb and cruelties or racial oppression is a method which will open men's closed hearts and minds by appealing to love rather than hate, she said.

There was a great deal of misunderstanding regarding the meaning of non-violent resistance and pacifism.

"Neither connotes the passive, inert endurance of evil or any wish to run away from facing violence imposed by others but is a form of resistance based on the spiritual principles taught by Jesus Christ and by Gandhi—the two exponents of it most familiar to the civilised world today."

Enemies into friends

"The idea is to resist an overlord or aggressor without taking life and as far



TV violence

WILL the BBC Television series "Blue Peter"—a programme designed to persuade young lads to enter the RAF—show young viewers the end produce of training in that service-violence?

This question has been put to the Director-General of the BBC in a letter from Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, who writes:

"Like other recruiting methods, it will doubtless appeal to youngsters and their love of adventure by showing all the attractive side of life in the RAF. May I ask whether it will also show them the other side and make them aware of what the consequences might be of manning a fighter aircraft and still more a V-bomber carrying the H-bomb?"

"Unless the series is designed to give the whole picture and all that is involved, it will be completely misleading and unfair to those who will watch it. However much the programme may disguise the essential facts, it remains true that the end product of training in the RAF is violence. It is therefore of some significance that the series coincides with the publication of the report of the Committee of Inquiry which has called attention to the danger to young people of making them familiar with violence through the television screen. To accustom them to the worst form of warfare and even to make the H-bomb a symbol of adventurous service is to do the gravest disservice to our young people."

"Will the BBC give facilities for the pacifist appeal to be put to our young people and present a similar series which would appeal to their sense of adventure in ways which are beyond doubt beneficial to humanity and of positive service to

PEACE NEWS, August 5, 1960—3

By Sybil Morrison

THE ENEMY

The frontiers of understanding are reached when our spirit fully identifies itself with the awful loneliness and finality of personal grief.—THE PLACE OF FEAR. Aneurin Bevan.

THERE are dates that remain in the mind; there are anniversaries that are a joy to remember, some that it would be happier to forget, and yet strangely persist even when memory itself is failing. To my generation, August the fourth is the date that sticks; somehow, September the third, in spite of the long-drawn-out horror that was brought to its climax on August the sixth, 1945 does not seem to have been so deeply engraved on the minds of the public as August the fourth still is on those who were young in 1914.

When pacifists and others make a special day of remembrance on August the sixth because that day heralded in the day of the nuclear menace, it should not be forgotten that but for August the fourth, 1914, there might never have been an August the sixth, 1945.

The inexorable sequence of events can be traced through the years in all their tragic futility and evil; first the weary years of abortive armament reduction discussions, each nation manoeuvring to keep the weapon they believed to be most important to their own prestige and security; then the final and inevitable breakdown of the negotiations which revealed the fear, distrust and aggressiveness of the Great Powers; and finally the outbreak of the Second World War.

The gradual building up during the war years of more and more powerful weapons of mass destruction came to its disastrous conclusion on August 6; but this was no isolated event; it was the outcome of a decision to secure unconditional surrender from the enemy at any cost. The cost, as always in war, was human lives and the dreadful stain of human guilt.

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I DO not know what is the origin of the saying which associates white rabbits with the first of the month and good wishes for a happy month. Perhaps some readers of Peace News will send in their suggestions. But in any case, here's wishing everybody a happy month in the week which begins with Bank Holiday and precedes the Peace Pledge Union and War Resisters' International Summer Holiday Conference at Clyne Castle.

Although banks do not open on August 1 and offices and shops are shut, it does not mean that there is a shortage of money or that we go without food. Everybody makes the necessary provisions in advance. Although the Summer Holiday Conference will take some of us to South Wales, it does not mean that PPU Headquarters will be shut. We make the necessary arrangements in advance.

Although many pacifists will be on holiday at this time, it must not mean that our activities cease or our witness weaken. We must make the necessary provision in advance and take any opportunities there are of spreading pacifism even on holiday.

But will you please help us to see that we are not threatened with a bank overdraft during August and send a contribution to the PPU Headquarters Fund before you go away?

We hope to have a worth while conference, and that you will all have a happy holiday wherever you go. You can certainly help us to have a happy month by substituting for white rabbits a cheque or a postal order.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £623.
Or halfway there.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

men's closed hearts and minds by appealing to love rather than hate, she said.

There was a great deal of misunderstanding regarding the meaning of non-violent resistance and pacifism.

"Neither connotes the passive, inert endurance of evil or any wish to run away from facing violence imposed by others but is a form of resistance based on the spiritual principles taught by Jesus Christ and by Gandhi—the two exponents of it most familiar to the civilised world today.

Enemies into friends

"The idea is to resist an overlord or aggressor without taking life and as far as possible without using force of any kind.

"The ultimate object is not merely to resist an enemy but to reconcile him and convert him into a friend.

Gandhi achieved this dual purpose when he got rid of the British Raj and later laid the foundation for the cordial relationship between India and Britain today.

Referring to the application of non-violent resistance to warfare in the nuclear age, Vera Brittain said that no historic form of defence would be valid if an H-bomb were dropped and man were to face annihilation.

"If the bomb is repudiated and there is a resort to conventional weapons, non-violent resistance would remove the risk of ultimate resort to atomic weapons," she declared.

Vera Brittain is in South Africa as visiting speaker at the National Education Conference organised by Natal University.

A near-capacity crowd filled Durban City Hall to hear Vera Brittain speak on "The Expanding Horizons of the Twentieth Century Woman."

She launched her subject by saying that "the wind of change" referred to by Mr. Macmillan in his Cape Town speech had been blowing throughout the twentieth century—not only for subject races but for subject classes and the subject sex.

TIME FOR REFLECTION

The Minister, a Presbyterian, had preached sermons on the subject of the missiles, he said, but could not recall what the purport of them was without looking back.—John Wilcock, in *The Village Voice*, December 23, 1959, describing his efforts to interest the clergy in warfare.

end product of training in the RAF is violence. It is therefore of some significance that the series coincides with the publication of the report of the Committee of Inquiry which has called attention to the danger to young people of making them familiar with violence through the television screen. To accustom them to the worst form of warfare and even to make the H-bomb a symbol of adventurous service is to do the gravest disservice to our young people. Will the BBC give facilities for the pacifist appeal to be put to our young people and present a similar series which would appeal to their sense of adventure in ways which are beyond doubt beneficial to humanity and of positive service to the community?"

BBC broadcasts

PROFESSOR RICHARD M. TITMUSS will speak on "The Irresponsible Society" on the BBC's Third Programme tomorrow (Saturday).

He argues that there are now about 2,500,000 people on National Assistance in Britain, and adds: "Counting other dependent groups, the sick, the disabled and handicapped and the old who are deterred from applying for National Assistance, there may be some seven to eight million people today living precariously close to the margins of poverty."

On local council housing waiting lists he quotes the Vicar of St. George's, Camberwell, South-East London, who said recently: "No one whom I marry now has a chance of getting their own place through the council waiting list for at least ten years." If this is the situation for young married couples today in such areas, the Professor argues, it is likely to be far worse for the elderly and those on National Assistance.

Professor Titmuss, who is Professor of Social Administration at London University, claims that private enterprise is only building about 1,000 new dwellings a year in the County of London, for example, and most of these are luxury flats for the rich.

On TV

DURING August a series of four filmed interviews with Bertrand Russell will be shown by BBC TV. The interviewer is Woodrow Wyatt, M.P. Earl Russell speaks his mind on a number of subjects, beginning on August 9, with the place of Britain in the world today.

each nation, endeavouring to keep the weapon they believed to be most important to their own prestige and security; then the final and inevitable breakdown of the negotiations which revealed the fear, distrust and aggressiveness of the Great Powers; and finally the outbreak of the Second World War.

The gradual building up during the war years of more and more powerful weapons of mass destruction came to its disastrous conclusion on August 6; but this was no isolated event; it was the outcome of a decision to secure unconditional surrender from the enemy at any cost. The cost, as always in war, was human lives and the dreadful stain of human guilt.

The death of tens of thousands of human beings in a few seconds by the use of the atomic bomb momentarily shocked the world, but the majority have recovered from the shock, and seek to justify the act, as all acts of war are justified, on the grounds of the need to overpower the enemy.

There are those to-day who insist, and clearly believe, that the death of large numbers of people is a worse disaster than the death of one. And yet, on that day in Hiroshima each one who died, died alone; not because he, or she, may have had no person near at the moment of death, but because war or no war, bomb or no bomb, ultimately each of us stands alone.

It is when we come to an understanding of this inescapable alone-ness that there will also be an understanding of the unreality of numbers. The loneliness of grief is often not understood even by those who offer love and kindness to the stricken; the desire to help obscures the bitter knowledge that no one but the sufferer can bear his own pain.

In fact, no one person can bear even the smallest portion of another's pain or grief; sympathy and succour may help to ease the desolation but cannot remove it. In the same way no man can die more than once, and the man drowning and suffocating in the mud and blood of Flanders, or the icy Arctic seas, is in no better case than the man lying under the rubble of a ruined building, or blasted out of existence by the force of an atomic explosion.

The fact that thousands instead of hundreds die at the same moment is of no importance to each single one; there is only one death, one pain, one grief. It is not death that is the enemy, for death is inevitable; it is war which is the enemy, for it is war that forges the weapons of ruthlessness and justifies their use; it is war that has brought the human race to the brink of its own destruction; it is war that imposes on man, not only his own suffering and death, but the responsibility for inflicting suffering, and the guilt of killing. Man should renounce this evil thing, and renounce it now.

America scores

THE sorry business of the world's two most powerful nations providing onlookers in the Security Council with the spectacle of mutual accusations of deliberate falsehood flung by Mr. Kuznetsov at Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, and by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge at Mr. Kuznetsov, like two furious householders calling each other "liar" across the garden fence, ended up last week with the first propaganda point scored for many months by the Americans over the Russians.

Not one of the uncommitted nations can have failed to be impressed by the American proposal that the issue about the shooting down of the RB-47 should be investigated by an international commission, and by the fact that the Russians used the veto in order to make this impossible.

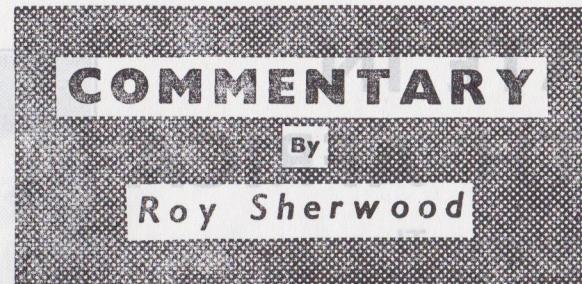
Russia vetos

AS this commission was to consist of an equal number of members nominated by the Soviet Union and the United States and by a third party acceptable to both sides, it is difficult to think of a valid reason for the Soviet refusal. But refuse they did, with the result that objective observers are more or less bound to assume that they have not much confidence in their own case; and to make matters worse for them, they even refused an Italian proposal that the Russian Government should allow the International Red Cross, as a neutral and independent institution, to have access to the now imprisoned surviving members of the RB-47 crew.

Even from their own point of view the Russian veto against the international commission seems incomprehensible. In a flat contradiction between the two sides regarding the precise place where the RB-47 was shot down, the American contention that the plane was neither over Soviet land territory nor over Soviet territorial waters depends on what Mr. Cabot Lodge referred to as secret electronic devices, of which, he also said, the Russians would no doubt be glad to have more knowledge.

More puzzles

IT is here that the puzzling part of the issue begins. If the American proposal for an international investigation had been accepted they would surely have had to disclose points of valuable information about the secret electronic equipment on which their asserted knowledge of the place where the plane was shot down depends; for, unless they furnished such information, and the reliability of the devices was thereby established, the American case would still rest on nothing more than assertion. Why then did the Russians not jump at such an opportunity of gaining valuable knowledge (unless they were afraid that the correctness of the US declarations would become evident), and why did the Americans run the risk of having to reveal particulars of electronic



ing to be awkward" nor to be misunderstood as supporting the Soviet case; but that he thinks his questions should be answered for the sake of the Western Powers' credit and that "it is a pity that the British representative did not ask them before rushing into uncritical support of the American statement."

I fully share his feeling, but I also think that these finer points of the issue will be disregarded by most people, who will, however, remember the American proposal for independent investigation and the Russian rejection of it. The Soviets are not usually so blind to the propaganda aspect of contentious questions between them and the other world alignment. Has Mr. Khrushchev lost his touch?

US—Cuba quarrel

THE American protest about the nationalisation of US properties in Cuba might have been written with the text of the Dutch protest about nationalisation of Dutch properties in Indonesia serving as model, and it is just as unlikely to prove of the least avail.

In both cases the argument is based on three points:

- (1) that the nationalisation is discriminatory—because it is not part of an all-embracing nationalisation measure;
- (2) that it is arbitrary—in retaliation for something resented by the nationalising government but justified in existing conditions;
- (3) that it is confiscatory because the provisions for compensation fall short of the minimum necessary to ensure prompt, adequate and effective payment.

Legitimate as this reasoning is from the injured concerns' standpoint, it is not as fundamental as that of either Indonesia or Cuba. Both reject the very basis of the protests as unimportant in comparison with their countries' vital and legitimate needs of a wider foundation for their economies.

The Cuban-American dispute thus becomes in reality an issue between the rights of foreign investors in a given country and that country's best economic interests. The Indonesians did not want the most important factors towards their level of prosperity to remain under Dutch control, and Cuba, almost wholly dependent on her exports of sugar, does not want America to be so important a market for her that the Americans are practically the arbiters in Cuban affairs.

view of the keen competition between East and West for the friendship of Latin-America the meeting therefore promises to become an important occasion.

Passing friendship?

NORMALLY, anything in the nature of closer relations between countries tending towards integration is to be welcomed. But last week's Adenauer-de Gaulle meeting, to be followed next week by Mr. Macmillan's visit to Bonn, gives rise to some misgivings. Neither President de Gaulle nor Chancellor Adenauer are notable leaders for peace except in the view of those who believe peace to be achievable only by high efficiency preparations for war.

President de Gaulle's chief spokesman, Premier Debré, has recently declared—in connection with France's proposed extra expenditure for nuclear experimentation and the making of her own hydrogen bomb—that in the coming years only nuclear powers will have the right to speak and others will become mere satellites—which does not say much for French interest in general disarmament. And Chancellor Adenauer has, also quite recently, made a speech in somewhat ambiguous terms which yet leaves little doubt that he is as far away as ever from accepting the Oder-Neisse frontier line with Poland as permanent. How, incidentally, the Debré statement can be palatable to West Germany is as deep a mystery as how the refusal to accept the permanency of the Oder-Neisse line can be palatable to France. However close, therefore, the two countries may be for the time being, it is reasonably certain that a time must come when West Germany will not be content to be a satellite and France will have to oppose intentions to nullify the Oder-Neisse line—even in dreams of settlements to come after a hypothetical incorporation of East Germany in the Federal Republic.

Tantalising choice

AS far as Britain is concerned in all this, Mr. Macmillan's visit to Bonn can hardly solve its own difficulty, which is the tantalising choice between entry into the Euromarket and risking something like a trade war by staying outside. Awkward enough in itself, the problem is further complicated by the fact that economic integration with the Continent implies ever growing political integration. And before that can happen, either Britain must give up her present reasonableness in all matters related to Russia, or Germany as well as France must greatly moderate their present attitudes—in one case the aspirations beyond the Oder-Neisse line, and in the other the aggravating assertiveness about self-sufficiency in nuclear weapons. No one will pretend to see an easy solution to these problems.

Mr. Chou En-lai's proposal

IT may be true, but this is not certain, that the Chou En-lai proposal for a large nuclear-free area in South East Asia is mere propaganda. But whether it is or not it cannot fail to find wide support in that part of the world. For that reason alone it should be taken up seriously.

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Another aspect of the issue is raised in a reader's letter to *The Times* (July 7) which asks, if the United States Government knew all along what had happened to the RB-47, even to the extent of knowing that a Soviet aircraft had tried to force it into Soviet territory, why did they not protest to the Soviet Government at the time instead of waiting for their announcement, and why did they join in the farce of pretending to look for an aircraft of whose fate they were already well aware?

The letter concludes by saying that the writer "is not try-

The Polaris era

THE nuclear submarine George Washington last Sunday fired a Polaris missile—the third in 10 days—as it cruised 50 feet under water off Cape Canaveral missile base, Florida. The missile travelled 1,100 miles.

The next day a missile went off course and was destroyed after 47 seconds.

On Monday *Time* magazine published another of its famous maps showing how much of the Communist land mass can now be covered by a 1,200-mile range weapon (nearly all). The 1965 Polaris, however, will have a range of 2,500 miles.

The boycott develops

DESPITE various boycotts South Africa's export trade increased by more than £22,000,000 in the first six months of 1960, *The Times* Johannesburg correspondent reported on August 1.

The Ghana Government last Friday announced a complete boycott, starting on

ensure prompt, adequate and effective payment. Legitimate as this reasoning is from the injured concerns' standpoint, it is not as fundamental as that of either Indonesia or Cuba. Both reject the very basis of the protests as unimportant in comparison with their countries' vital and legitimate needs of a wider foundation for their economies.

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The Cuban complaint to the Security Council of the United Nations about US "economic aggression" has now been referred to the next meeting of the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the 21-member Organisation of American States, scheduled for the beginning of the fourth week of the present month. The meeting is to draw up a report which is to go back to the Security Council, to be followed by further discussion. The outcome will be important not only because what happens in Cuba has become a bone of contention between the Soviets and the United States but also because the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Organisation of American States apparently intend to discuss also the wider subject of all inter-American relations and of the relations between the whole of South America and the rest of the world. In

integration with the Continent implies ever growing political integration. And before that can happen, either Britain must give up her present reasonableness in all matters related to Russia, or Germany as well as France must greatly moderate their present attitudes—in one case the aspirations beyond the Oder-Neisse line, and in the other the aggravating assertiveness about self-sufficiency in nuclear weapons. No one will pretend to see an easy solution to these problems.

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Mr. Kat at UN?

MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S call for the resumption of general disarmament negotiations, in the new form of discussions by the General Assembly of the United Nations to be attended by Heads of State, is a plain bid for Russian popularity among the uncommitted nations and even some which are committed to the Western alignment but are not in possession of nuclear weapons.

It is not likely to meet with a favourable response, for one reason because Mr. Khrushchev's presence in New York at the approaching fever period of the Presidential Election seems almost unthinkable.

Monday—shows that no union has sent a resolution supporting the official Labour Party policy of NATO, US weapons and US bases. The Party's policy, however, will be brought before Congress through the TUC General Council's report.

The sit-ins continue

TWENTY-SEVEN people were arrested on Monday at Petersburg, Virginia, when Negroes started a new series of sit-in demonstrations at lunch counters where coloured people are refused service.

A Reuter report said that further demonstrations were planned.



Sir Roy Welensky and Dr. Verwoerd's Government are planning to jam Ghana's four giant 100-kilowatt transmitters, reports the South African fortnightly, *Contact*. A Dutch press report states that the jamming station, to be efficient, would need to be placed in the southernmost tip of Africa.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

August 1, of South African goods and a ban on the entry or transit through Ghanaian territory of all South Africans, except those who declare opposition to apartheid and racial discrimination.

Last year South Africa exported just over £2,200,000 worth of goods to Ghana.

Pass books for women

ALL African women over the age of 16 will be required by the South African Government to carry "reference books"—i.e., passes—from December 1. This was announced by Mr. De Wet Nel, Minister for Bantu Administration and Development, on Monday.

The number of women involved is about three and a quarter million. All African males over the age of 16 already have to possess "reference books."

Anti-submarine submarine

THE Canadian House of Commons defence expenditures committee last Friday recommended an intensive study be undertaken of the advantages of Canada's acquiring submarines for anti-submarine operations.

The committee also backed present Government efforts to find ways to release more funds to equip the Canadian armed forces with more new weapons.

Unilateralism at the TUC

TEN British trade unions have submitted resolutions in some way supporting unilateral nuclear disarmament for next month's Trades Union Congress at Douglas, Isle of Man.

The preliminary agenda—published on

NO MORE HIROSHIMAS

By James Kirkup

At the station exit, my bundle in hand,
Early the winter afternoon's wet snow
Falls thinly round me, out of a cruddled sun.

I had forgotten to remember where I was.
Looking about, I see it might be anywhere—
A station, a town like any other in Japan,
Ramshackle, muddy, noisy, drab; a cheerfully

Shallow permanence: peeling concrete, litter, "Atomic Lotion, for hair fall-out," a flimsy department-store;
Racks and towers of neon, flashy over tiled and tilted waves
Of little roofs, shacks cascading lemons and persimmons,
Oranges and dark-red apples, shanties awash with rainbows
Of squid and octopus, shellfish, slabs of tuna, oysters, ice,
Ablaze with fans of soiled nude-picture books
Thumbed abstractedly by schoolboys, with second-hand looks.

The river remains unchanged, sad, refusing re-habilitiation.
In this long, wide, empty, official boulevard
The new trees are still small, the office blocks
Basely functional, the bridge a slick abstraction.
But the river remains unchanged, sad, refusing re-habilitiation.

In the city centre, far from the station's lively squalor,
A kind of life goes on, in cinemas and hi-fi coffee bars,
In the shuffling racket of pin-table palaces and parlours,
The souvenir-shops piled with junk, kimonoed kewpie-dolls,
Models of the bombed Industry Promotion Hall, memorial ruin
Tricked out with glitter-frost and artificial pearls.

Set in an awful emptiness, the modern tourist hotel is trimmed
With jaded Christmas frippery, flatulent balloons; in the hall,
A giant dingy iced cake in the shape of a Cinderella coach.
The contemporary stairs are treacherous, the corridors
Deserted, my room an overheated morgue, the bar in darkness.
Punctually, the electric chimes ring out across the tidy waste
Their doleful public hymn—the tune unrecognisable, evangelist.

Japanese protest

IN the June issue of your splendid paper the lead article, "Why Japan Doesn't Like Ike," fails to emphasise the rôle played by civilian provocateurs in the occasional

Janet Blackman is doing research in the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science

Here atomic peace is geared to meet the tourist trade.
Let it remain like this, for all the world to see,
Without nobility or loveliness, and dogged with shame
That is beyond all hope of indignation. Anger, too, is dead.
And why should memorials of what was far
From pleasant have the grace that helps us to forget?

In the dying afternoon, I wander dying round the Park of Peace.
It is right, this squat, dead place, with its left-over air
Of an abandoned International Trade and Tourist Fair.

The stunted trees are wrapped in straw against the cold.
The gardeners are old, old women in blue bloomers, white aprons,
Survivors weeding the dead brown lawns around the Children's Monument.

A hideous pile, the Atomic Bomb Explosion Centre, freezing cold,
"Includes the Peace Tower, a museum containing
Atomic-melted slates and bricks, photos showing
What the Atomic Desert looked like, and other
Relics of the catastrophe."

The other relics:
The ones that made me weep;
The bits of burnt clothing,
The stopped watches, the torn shirts,
The twisted buttons,
The stained and tattered vests and drawers,
The ripped kimonos and charred boots,
The white blouse polka-dotted with atomic rain, indelible,
The cotton summer pants the blasted boys crawled home in, to bleed
And slowly die.

Remember only these,
They are the memorials we need.

that kind. They—or some group against the purpose of the peaceful demonstration—have stooped to such tactics in the past, and as the peace movement grows here such methods may be expected again.

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Our contributors

Janet Blackman is doing research in the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science at Birmingham University, where she is convenor of a staff group discussing the economic implications of Britain's defence policy and disarmament.

George Houser is Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa—which aims to explain African developments to the American people. He has travelled widely in the African continent.

* * * * *

James Kirkup was born in South Shields at the close of World War I and took double Honours in Modern Languages at King's College, Newcastle-on-Tyne. He wandered extensively in France and Switzerland as a young man and has more recently lived in Sweden and other countries. At the moment he is in Japan as a Professor of Faculty of Arts and Letters at Tohoku University at Sendai. An autobiography dealing with his childhood, *SORROWS, PASSIONS AND ALARMS*, was acclaimed by the critics. His first book of poems, *THE DROWNED SAILOR*, has been followed by several other volumes. He wrote the present poem for *Peace News*.

* * * * *

Efua Sutherland is a writer and has designed some of Ghana's postage stamps. She is married to Bill Sutherland, who, when living in America, was active in the radical pacifist movement and helped to develop CORE—the racial equality movement which has recently made great strides in the Southern States. The Sutherland home in Ghana provided a headquarters for the Sahara Protest Team which tried to halt French atomic tests and is a distribution centre for *Peace News* and other literature on non-violence.

Japanese protest

IN the June issue of your splendid paper the lead article, "Why Japan Doesn't Like Ike," fails to emphasise the rôle played by civilian provocateurs in the occasional violence connected with the otherwise peaceful and non-violent demonstrations against Japan's signing the United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty.

One wonders if all the violence was not from these sources. The commercial press in the USA specialised in running pictures showing alleged students with clubs in hand and other such scenes. No explanation was given of who these people were.

Anna Fujikawa, the Japan correspondent of the weekly for which I work, identified these people as members of a right wing organisation, "The Patriotic Youth Group." In a number of dispatches she stated the violence arose from this group and their associates. The only piece of violence she failed to identify with this group was the burning of 17 police cars and tanks on the Diet grounds at the peak of the bloody June 15 events.

Personally I would suspect this too as being the work of provocateurs, even though she failed to state that.

She also informed us that the students had specific instructions to stay away from the car of Eisenhower's Press Secretary, Mr. Hagerty, who was rescued by helicopter from crowds of demonstrators, and to permit him to pass through their lines.

My main point is, however, that as the non-violent movement grows it must find a way to cope with those who, either from outside or from inside, offer violence which then provokes police action—and a shambles. The outsiders are, of course, no problem. One merely sits, stands or falls beneath their blows. It is the insiders, the plants, who make a problem.

Perhaps there is more honesty among British police than among Americans of

that kind. They—or some group against the purpose of the peaceful demonstration—have stooped to such tactics in the past, and as the peace movement grows here such methods may be expected again.

I think there are many of us who have been associated with both the economic struggle (as in the unions) and the political

Letters to the Editor

struggle since the 1930s, who have learned from our own experience to look beneath the surface wherever violence occurs and see if there is not more than meets the eye.

This does not absolve us from ever forgetting that in all struggles the aim is for maximum support, and for ever perfecting techniques to isolate fomenters of violence.

—JOHN STONE, 81 Clementia, San Francisco 5, California, USA.

Hiroshima Day

AT Hiroshima on August 6 every year a solemn memorial service is held at the spot on which the first atom bomb fell. One of those present at this service two years ago wrote:

"A deeper impression than that made by any part of the ceremony was made by that which found no part in it. The outstanding event of today is that the perpetrators of this deed have not thought this day worthy of a single wreath, nor their victims of a single word. . . Or are they too ashamed? And is that why they have not taken even the smallest part in this ceremony, not even the very least of what would have beseemed them?

"Hardly; for they have already taken part, in their fashion, by means, that is, of the test explosions which took place in

the Pacific just as the preparations for this ceremony were beginning, and by the announcement of yet more tests."

The writer is Dr. Günther Anders of Vienna, and the above passage is translated from his book, *DER MANN AUF DER BRUCKE*—THE MAN ON THE BRIDGE, a journal of his visit to Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the time of the 1958 World Congress for Nuclear Disarmament at Tokyo. The book has been well received in Germany and Austria, and has already been translated into Japanese and Italian. It is hoped that it will soon appear in English too.

That was in 1958. And in 1960, although the "Great Powers" at least have held no more tests, a new series, underground, has just been announced. But will any wreaths be sent to Hiroshima?—SCOTT BAYLISS, Far End, Headley Down, Hants.

PN in local libraries

SOME years ago I offered to present *Peace News* weekly to Brixham Free Library but was told the committee could not accept gifts of periodicals. Since then an offer to present the *Animal World*, organ of the RSPCA, has also been turned down. Why?

We are, however, allowed to read the *Spectator*, *Time and Tide*, the *New Statesman*, *Illustrated London News*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Vogue*, *The Queen*, *Punch* and *The Studio*.

Beyond this horizon Brixham's library Committee thinks it unwise for us to peep.

Books like *FACING MOUNT KENYA* or *THE SCOURGE OF THE SWASTIKA* can be obtained by request, but they are kept under the counter and not on the shelves.—RHODA CLARKE, 36 Prospect Rd., Brixham.

More study is needed to prepare the way for disarmament. What industries would be most affected? Where would there be excess labour resources? How much research is at present devoted to military projects? How uneven is the geographical distribution of "defence" work?

Janet Blackman here sums up the present role of Britain's armaments budget in the economy, and concludes that a plan for disarmament could be formulated — "and the groundwork for it should be begun at once."

THE **TOLDAS GROUP**

Welcomes into membership all
who believe in

PLANNING FOR DI

By Janet Blackman

THE limited analyses made so far on the economic effects of disarmament have emphasised the impact on the American economy on the assumption that Britain's prosperity is dependent on that of the United States. Therefore any approach to this question from the point of view of Britain's economy alone is open to the criticism of being unrealistic.

It has been argued that any successful soft-cushioning of the impact of disarmament on our economy and labour force which Britain may attempt would depend on the steps taken by America to safeguard the stability of her economy in the same situation. Yet an acceptance of the validity of this argument does not entirely remove the obligation to attempt an analysis of the problems Britain would face herself.

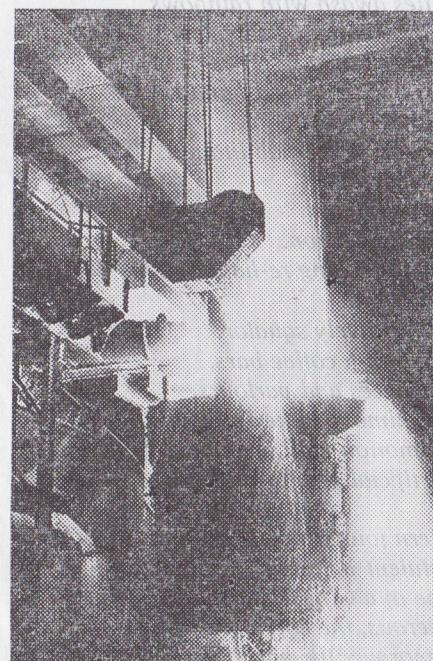
References to the possibility of increased expenditure on welfare services, public works and loans to under-developed areas to take up the slack in our economy caused by disarmament are not enough. More study is needed to find out where this slack will occur. When it is claimed that the lack of enthusiasm for a disarmament agreement can be partly attributed to the fear of unemployment and other unpleasant economic upheavals an appraisal of our present defence burden and the possible effect of its reduction becomes of paramount importance.

Paucity of facts

Very little information is available to us on the connection between our defence expenditure and industry. We know the total to be spent each year on defence, how much of this goes on the maintenance of the armed forces, and we can work out the proportion of our national income consumed in this way. It is much more difficult to break down this data to assess which industries, firms or section of the labour force are most affected and to estimate the result if this expenditure were stopped.

economy? The answer to this may give us some idea of the gap disarmament will cause.

In the five years preceding 1957 on average our defence expenditure amounted to ten per cent of our gross national product. Since then the proportion of our national income absorbed by the defence burden has declined, falling to some 7.4 per cent in 1958 and again falling in 1959 to around the proportion of pre-Korean war days. (It should be noted here that although the proportion has declined, the *quantity* of



Steel production

Our manufacturing industries are geared more closely to defence than is often realised.

It has yet to be seen whether the latest move to utilise a non-existent American missile will prove to be more efficient and less costly. What is important is that this decision was taken because of Britain's inability to go it alone any longer in this costly arms race. We are not prepared or are unable to make the economic sacrifices necessary to meet our military demands.

What are these "sacrifices" we are making now? We cannot leave the question of Britain's defence expenditure here with an estimate of the proportionate burden on our national income and with the warning that this may be increased. This does not give an adequate evaluation of the full impact on our economy. Our manufacturing industries in certain important sections are geared more closely to defence projects than is often realised with the result that they absorb a disproportionate share of the resources available both of capital and manpower.

Research spending

Two years ago the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research published an estimate of the resources devoted to scientific and engineering research and development in British manufacturing industry based on the latest figures available, those for 1955. Of the £6,535,000,000 made by manufacturing industry only a very small percentage amounting to about £183,000,000 was spent on research and development. Forty-four per cent of the country's *total* expenditure on research and development was accounted for by that of the aircraft industry.

This report attributes this large expenditure mainly to Government defence contracts for the development of military aircraft and the building of successive prototypes and not to the private resources of the aircraft companies. It is assumed that this work forms a very large part of the business of the aircraft industry, although no separate data was available to estimate the cost of the development of civil aircraft. Our engineering industries also receive Government development contracts mainly for defence purposes, but not to such an important extent as in the aircraft

resources taken up by defence is much higher than before the Korean war for during the years 1950 to 1958 the national

for disarmament could be formulated — “and the groundwork for it should be begun at once.”

THE

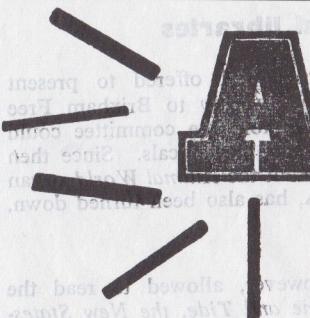
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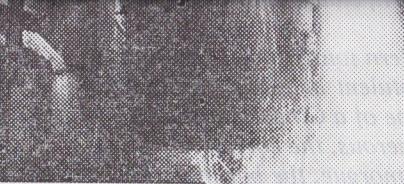
ence burden and the possible effect of its reduction becomes of paramount importance.

Paucity of facts

Very little information is available to us on the connection between our defence expenditure and industry. We know the total to be spent each year on defence, how much of this goes on the maintenance of the armed forces, and we can work out the proportion of our national income consumed in this way. It is much more difficult to break down this data to assess which industries, firms or section of the labour force are most affected and to estimate the result if this expenditure were stopped.

This paucity of facts to work on may go some way to account for the reluctance to assess the gap which disarmament would cause. Yet a study of Defence White Papers, official statements, speeches in both Houses of Parliament, and the public discussions of incidents like that of the abandonment of the Blue Streak project do yield enough detail to estimate the present role of our defence budget in our economy from which suggestions and tentative plans can be made to offset the impact of disarmament.

How much of a burden is our present defence expenditure? How much will the spending this year of £1,630,000,000 on armaments and the armed forces tax our



Steel production

Our manufacturing industries are geared more closely to defence than is often realised.

resources taken up by defence is much higher than before the Korean war for during the years 1950 to 1958 the national income rose about 18 per cent.)

This decline may be viewed with optimism as a step in the right direction, but only if changes in defence priorities are ignored. The Suez incident revealed that the heavy expenditure on defence of the early 1950's had not produced the efficient military forces and the means to transport them that we required to fulfil our overseas commitments. The cutting back in other fields, mainly in the production of consumer goods, had not been worthwhile.

These considerations no doubt played not an insignificant part in the continued reduction, however small, in the proportion of our national income we were prepared to assign to defence. Greater priority was given, not to conventional forces, but to the development of Britain's own independent nuclear deterrent, the liquid-fuelled missile Blue Streak. With its means of delivery and protection Blue Streak was absorbing some £200,000,000 a year, or more than 15 per cent of our current defence expenditure. Its vulnerability to Soviet attack and the alarming rise in its production and maintenance costs to a possible £2,000,000,000 in the mid-Sixties lead to its abandonment.

This fiasco should raise larger questions concerning the economic implications of our defence policy other than the simple waste of some £100,000,000 or more on this project, some of which will be retrieved as a face-saver for space research. The dropping of Blue Streak should bring home to us the pattern of future defence expenditure, the complexity and huge cost of the present arms race. Adequate deterrence is concomitant with a “get ahead” defence policy. The result can only be one expensive weapon after another becoming obsolete in favour of an even more expensive one.

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Estimates of the Advisory Council on Scientific Policy reveal that the total contribution of Government defence contracts to private firms for research and development, including the aircraft industry, amounted in 1955 to some £118,500,000. This figure is very close to the total given above (£183,000,000) spent by the whole of private manufacturing industry on all their research and development.

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SARMAMENT

Unfortunately we have no later figures to compare the present situation with that of 1955. With the emphasis on missiles, rockets and their carriers since then we should not be too optimistic about other industries now receiving a larger share of the total the country is prepared to spend from Government and private sources on much needed industrial research and expansion. Can we be sure that the situation has not become even more top-heavy, weighted in favour of increasingly expensive defence projects?

This evidence makes the seven per cent we spend of our national income on defence much more significant than this proportion might otherwise imply at a glance. Moreover, this seven per cent constitutes a larger proportion of our resources absorbed by defence than that of any other West European country, with the exception of France with her expensive operations in Algeria.

Revealing comparison

Our overseas commitments partly account for this difference. Yet a comparison with Germany's expenditure, for instance, reveals that in 1957 she spent 5.6 per cent of her national income on defence, to Britain's 8.3 per cent in the same year. This difference becomes of vital importance when it is remembered that it was in the early Fifties that Germany overhauled us in world markets for manufactured goods. After the war she was able to re-equip her engineering and machine tool industries for the production of exports. We have already seen how much Britain during the same period was spending on the aircraft industry to the detriment of others, and this was before the missile programme was pursued in earnest. By comparison, the British machine tool industry has been the "cinderella" of British industry since the end of the war, and is only now in the last half year picking up in orders and rate of investment.

Technical advances in our civil engineering, shipbuilding, etc., compare unfavourably with that of other industrial countries. There is plenty of scope for more research and development here in the very industries which are proving the basis of our rivals' success in world markets.

What about manpower? The entanglement of firms and branches of industries, and the distribution of defence projects between them makes it impossible to estimate what proportion of our manpower would be unemployed if a disarmament agreement were signed.

We can tell with more accuracy the number of much needed scientists and engineers (with a university qualification or equivalent) which a reduction in armaments would release. In January, 1959, the number of scientists and engineers engaged on defence work according to the Scientific Manpower Commission was 20,000. This amounts to a quarter of the total engaged on research and development in industrial and government research establishments.

It should be noted here that of the increase in the number of scientists and engineers in employment between 1956 and 1959, manufacturing industry—aircraft, electronics, electrical engineering and chemicals in particular—took the largest slice. The proportion of the total employed in education, building, the nationalised industries and public corporations, and by local authorities declined, albeit slightly, in these three years.

One estimate gives over 30 per cent of our physicists as being engaged on military projects. We can see from this where more such highly skilled men are needed, and where they could be obtained if the defence burden were eased. The Defence White Paper of 1957 itself referred to the shortage of scientific manpower in civil industry and the need to keep an eye on this situation.

In this connection it is worth remembering that between 1956 and 1959 the actual increase in the number of scientists and engineers was only 23,000 (19.7 per cent) compared with a forecasted demand for 32,500 (27.2 per cent increase). An even higher number will be required in the next three years. The hopes of the non-metaliferous mining, machine tool, and heavy electrical and civil engineering industries, and others for a fairer share in this increase may still be too optimistic.

Effect on economy



The new four-jet Victor bomber on the assembly line

The "get ahead" defence policy—one expensive weapon after another becoming obsolete.

A plan could be formulated and the groundwork for it should be begun at once. The few facts gathered here indicate in what direction there is room for industrial expansion. How much better experts from industry, the unions, the armed forces, and the Government could do it with all the data at their disposal.

Of course such a team could not foresee all the imponderables such as the stability of the economy at the time chosen to disarm, but such considerations, including, for instance, the demand for labour, would have to be taken into account. In the present situation of almost over-full employment in many areas it would be easier to absorb the extra labour and demobbed forces. Yet this takes no account of the type of skills required in comparisons with those released. Unemployment would occur on disarming; but the type of unemployment needs more careful analysis.

We already have the machinery to pay cut compensation or unemployment benefit, which could be made to equal the average wage lost, and to aid workpeople to find alternative jobs. More research is needed to see if the skilled and semi-skilled worker in an aircraft or missile factory, or in the electronics industry could be quickly and adequately absorbed at the same time as all industry turned over to civilian production. This may require re-training for some

men as this company was still building the missiles Thunderbird and Blue Water. Such towns would be dependent on the drafting of new industries to the area, or the expansion of the existing ones for the production of civilian goods.

There is no reason why this should not be achieved with the minimum of upheaval and hardship if we have the plans ready to put into operation. We must find out beforehand where and what kind of redundancy will occur, what kind of financial aid and preparations are needed to absorb the surplus labour, including the released armed forces, and how much assistance and notice industries involved will require to make the change-over in production.

Begin now

It is not too early to begin these enquiries now. An attempt has been made here to show on what lines such enquiries should be made to discover the economic implications of our present defence burden in order to assess the gap disarmament will cause.

The success of any plan to alleviate the economic consequences of disarmament will depend on a willingness to implement it. We shall only win such sympathy if we face the situation realistically, and begin to plan to overcome the difficulties we

engineering and machine tool industries for the production of exports. We have already seen how much Britain during the same period was spending on the aircraft industry to the detriment of others, and this was before the missile programme was pursued in earnest. By comparison, the British machine tool industry has been the "cinderella" of British industry since the end of the war, and is only now in the last half year picking up in orders and rate of investment.

Technical advances in our civil engineering, shipbuilding, etc., compare unfavourably with that of other industrial countries. There is plenty of scope for more research and development here in the very industries which are proving the basis of our rivals' success in world markets.

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also reflected the shortage of scientific manpower in civil industry and the need to keep an eye on this situation.

In this connection it is worth remembering that between 1956 and 1959 the actual increase in the number of scientists and engineers was only 23,000 (19.7 per cent) compared with a forecasted demand for 32,500 (27.2 per cent increase). An even higher number will be required in the next three years. The hopes of the non-metal-liferrous mining, machine tool, and heavy electrical and civil engineering industries, and others for a fairer share in this increase may still be too optimistic.

Effect on economy

A clearer picture of what Britain's present defence expenditure entails emerges from the foregoing attempt to assemble the meagre and scattered available data. From this it is possible to see its relative importance to our economic capacity, how far our defence policy is a burden and how much and in what direction it puts a strain on our valuable resources of capital and manpower. It is no use belittling the effect of disarmament on our economy; it would not only be heavy but would occur in important sectors of our industries and would hit certain areas harder than others.

Any suggestions as to how we should cope with such a situation are of necessity theoretical and tentative. The industries have been indicated which are hardest hit in the competition for money for research and for scarce scientific manpower. These should be the first beneficiaries when these resources are released from disarmament. From the negotiation and plans put forward so far, the running down of armies and armaments will be by carefully planned stages, but planning for taking up the slack must begin before this process, as no manufacturer will be happy to continue as before when the end is in sight however many years away.

Top-level planning between the Government, managerial circles and the trade unions would be essential. When such discussions begin this would indicate that we are in earnest over disarmament and prepared to face up to its implications realistically. We are not unused to directives from above. The Government already has the powers to manipulate industry up to a point; we have the recent examples of the aircraft company merger, the drafting of new plants and factories to areas with unemployment, and financial aid to the steel industry.

Employment in many areas it would be easier to absorb the extra labour and demobbed forces. Yet this takes no account of the type of skills required in comparisons with those released. Unemployment would occur on disarming; but the type of unemployment needs more careful analysis.

We already have the machinery to pay out compensation or unemployment benefit, which could be made to equal the average wage lost, and to aid workpeople to find alternative jobs. More research is needed to see if the skilled and semi-skilled worker in an aircraft or missile factory, or in the electronics industry could be quickly and adequately absorbed at the same time as all industry turned over to civilian production. This may require re-training for some men, and would certainly need the co-operation of the unions with management.

Redeploying skills

It has already been shown that there is now a shortage of highly trained scientists and engineers. The problem of their absorption should not be so acute in theory, but here we have an excellent example of the concentration of a certain type of skill or labour in one area. More than one half of the total research and development workers are given by the Scientific Manpower Commission as working in London and the South-East, and in the East and South-West of England, compared with only a third of the industrial labour force. If the research workers of the grant-aided research associations and DSIR stations are included this concentration becomes even more pronounced.

The main reason for this is the location of most of the aircraft, radio and electronics industry in this region, and therefore of much of the development in defence projects. So any release of these scientists and engineers from defence work would either necessitate their absorption in the same area together with an expansion of the peaceful activities of these industries there, or removal to other areas and industries already relatively starved of their skills.

A plea might be made here for more diversification of industry in certain areas. For instance, Stevenage New Town is already known as "Missileville." We have recently witnessed on a very small scale the type of redundancy that would occur in such areas on disarmament. A few hundred men working on Blue Streak were given a few weeks' grace before dismissal at the de Havilland factory there. Unlike the conditions consequent on full disarmament, English Electric were able to take on these

industries involved will require to make the change-over in production.

Begin now

It is not too early to begin these enquiries now. An attempt has been made here to show on what lines such enquiries should be made to discover the economic implications of our present defence burden in order to assess the gap disarmament will cause.

The success of any plan to alleviate the economic consequences of disarmament will depend on a willingness to implement it. We shall only win such sympathy if we face the situation realistically, and begin to plan to overcome the difficulties we envisage. Then there would no longer be this excuse for concentrating on the economic consequences in order to sidetrack the main issue—the achievement of a comprehensive disarmament agreement between nations.

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AFRICA: A CASE FOR PESSIMISM

George Houser reviews

The Death of Africa, by Peter Ritner.

IT is always a risk to write a book which is a survey and interpretation of what is currently happening in Africa. Events are moving so rapidly in Africa that it is a foregone conclusion that some of the descriptions and interpretations will be out of date before the printer's ink has dried.

Peter Ritner has written a book, *THE DEATH OF AFRICA*, which, at least in part, is a survey of present-day Africa. But because of the rapidity of change on the continent, sections in it on the Congo and French territories, for instance, are already outdated. Also, the author's conclusion that Sir Roy Welensky will get "more or less what he wants" from the British when the talks take place in London on the future of the Federation is open to considerably more question than when Ritner wrote the words.

Nevertheless, this is a valuable book. It is not particularly unique in those sections of it surveying political conditions in the various territories. Rather its uniqueness lies in its basic interpretation of the longer-term outlook for independent Africa. The title suggests this interpretation and the rather morbid conclusion the author draws. Ritner is stating the thesis that Africa will "die" as far as freedom or individual opportunity is concerned unless there is some kind of massive assistance which comes from the outside, and particularly from the United States.

The reason for this conclusion is that there is an expanding population on a continent which does not have the potential for real economic growth, does not have techniques for developing even the economic potential which does exist, and does not have an educated and trained personnel to develop successfully as much of the potential for growth as does exist. Altogether the picture painted is a dark one.

In order partly to meet the challenge of this analysis, Ritner proposes massive American economic, educational, and technical assistance. He proposes that a gigantic Institute of African Affairs be established. It will have a budget of \$6,000,000,000, to

Macmillan, New York. 34s. 6d.

portance of Africa, only paltry sums have been appropriated for African development. Only about \$20,000,000 out of a foreign aid programme of \$4,000,000,000 is requested in next year's budget, for instance.

But the essential question which arises in this reviewer's mind is—if the potential in Africa is so limited, what is the practical use of a massive development scheme? Ritner's book should serve to discourage rather than encourage the politicians in Washington from an enlarged and imaginative programme of assistance to developing Africa.

Fortunately, I believe Ritner's thesis is much too pessimistic. There is still hope that schemes such as the Volta River project in Ghana can transform the economy of that country. The mineral resources of the

land are by no means entirely explored and exploited yet. Just as the human resources of the newly independent countries of Africa are being developed through broad educational schemes, so can the economy be expanded to meet population growth. If not, then there is no use talking about massive plans for aid to an Africa whose "death" is inevitable.

The book gives considerable space to a discussion of South Africa. The conclusion that Ritner draws is that wholesale violence, with the Africans and the Afrikaners as antagonists, is inevitable. He is of the opinion that the African National Congress has done nothing to challenge the Government, and that the conservative leadership of men like Chief Luthuli will be swept aside by younger, more vigorous leadership in the days ahead.

Certainly there is a real possibility that the blood bath Ritner talks about may come about. But this reviewer does not accept its inevitability any more than he

accepts the fact that the ANC has done nothing to shake the Government. The ANC has been a rallying centre for the resisters in South Africa. The Pan-Africanist Congress arose within the ANC. The resistance movement has made it possible for an aroused international opinion to be organised. Although the resolution of South Africa's problem lies essentially within the country rather than outside it, world opinion has increasingly made itself felt.

I would take the view that there will be sporadic violence in South Africa, and there will continue to be effective non-violent resistance campaigns. The combination of these outbreaks may have a cumulative effect on the Europeans, including the Afrikaners, that could make the transition from a European- to an African-dominated country much less an anarchistic bloodletting than Ritner foresees.

In spite of these differences with Ritner's analysis, *THE DEATH OF AFRICA* is a stimulating book with a probing analysis that must be taken seriously.

The place of women in a changing continent

This is the address by Efua Sutherland, Ghanaian poet and writer, delivered at the opening of the recent Congress of African Women and Women of African Descent in Accra, Ghana. The audience included not only women from many parts of Africa but Negroes from the USA and Europe.



Strange though it may seem, we will begin with crafts, an item directly involving the distinctive artistic expression of our communities, which at the same time is bound up in an important way with the economic programmes of our new countries. In Ghana now we see the need to extend the scope and quality of craft work particularly in the rural areas where it is important to keep life stimulated and undisrupted.

Our concern about the numerous third rate products dumped on us from the outside world is preparing us for replacing that market with products bearing the stamp and personality of African craftsmanship.

Can we make a contribution to this development by working with communities of craftsmen, supplying them with new ideas for their work and organisation?



In the field of education we face a tremendous responsibility. Here perhaps more than in any other field is it important for us who begin the education of children in the home to have no confusion whatso-

some kind of massive assistance which comes from the outside, and particularly from the United States.

The reason for this conclusion is that there is an expanding population on a continent which does not have the potential for real economic growth, does not have techniques for developing even the economic potential which does exist, and does not have an educated and trained personnel to develop successfully as much of the potential for growth as does exist. Altogether the picture painted is a dark one.

In order partly to meet the challenge of this analysis, Ritner proposes massive American economic, educational, and technical assistance. He proposes that a gigantic Institute of African Affairs be established. It will have a budget of \$6,000,000,000 to \$8,000,000,000 a year. Ritner rightly points out that US policy has been geared almost completely to Europe, and that even as Washington has come to recognise the im-

Indian politics

Geoffrey Carnall reviews

India Today, by Frank Moraes. Macmillan, New York. 10s. 6d. (paper), 28s. (cloth).

FRANK MORAES, a well-known Indian journalist, has written a short account of Indian politics since the war which will be useful to anyone who bears in mind the author's particular bias.

It is an intelligent statement of the point of view of those in India who sympathise with the Western rather than the Communist Powers, and who are suspicious of Nehru's emphasis on the public sector of the economy.

The book is addressed to an American audience, and it may do some good in the USA. Moraes is reassuringly anti-Communist, but in a relaxed manner amusingly remote from that of the Moral Re-Armament crusaders. Describing the Kerala experiment in Communist government, he insists that the tendency to regard Communism as a Red colossus difficult to dislodge is ill-founded. These colossi have feet of clay, "while their heads, wired to the Marxist juke-box, are afflicted by a hundred jangling discords."

The author accepts that non-alignment is the foreign policy best suited to India's interests. One hopes that this fact will be noted by those who see in the Japanese desire for neutrality only the hidden hand of Peking and Moscow.



Cavalcade of cars in Accra—Sekou Touré, Guinea's Premier, with Dr. Nkrumah.

I am alarmed by the cultivation of class mentality in our society.

I WILL assume that we who have come together for these talks are here, not merely to be excited about the tremendous events of liberation in Africa, but for the more valuable reason that we are ready to work now for the consolidation of freedom.

To save Africa we must be ready to work, to produce, now. There is no time to waste.

Since Africa's men, faced with the urgent demands of political struggle, and with the vast responsibilities of planning and administration in our newly independent countries inevitably have their hands so full, a clear opportunity is made available in these times to us women to play an equally vital rôle in examining at depth the implications of change and progress on the intellectual and cultural life of our societies.

Are we ready to be realistic about Africa? Are we ready to shed our confusions? To shed them in our personal lives and in our homes in order to qualify for participation in the new national life?

Are we ready to be original and reject what can only be described as the carbon copy mentality? Why be a carbon copy when we can be original?

The re-strengthening of Africa's creative genius depends entirely on our being able to face these challenges with honesty.

If these particular challenges are more directly posed to African women living in Africa, I would venture to pose another to women of African descent who are represented at this conference, and whose solidarity with Africa inspires them to work in aid of the African cause.

Are they ready to approach their work, not from the point of view of desiring for Africa the standards, goals and ideals of their Western backgrounds, without qualification?

Are they ready also to help Africa to avoid the evils of overdeveloped countries, the social insecurities, the class and race menace, the war mentality?

With all this in mind we should be able at this conference to approach our immediate discussions with a reasonably clear insight.

What are some of the practical ways in which we women can direct our effort in the intellectual and cultural fields? My analyses and inferences in every case will be necessarily limited to the Ghana situation.

portant to keep life stimulated and undisrupted.

Our concern about the numerous third rate products dumped on us from the outside world is preparing us for replacing that market with products bearing the stamp and personality of African craftsmanship.

Can we make a contribution to this development by working with communities of craftsmen, supplying them with new ideas for their work and organisation?



In the field of education we face a tremendous responsibility. Here perhaps more than in any other field is it important for us who begin the education of children in the home to have no confusion whatsoever about the goals and standards desirable in the new African citizen.

The greatest criticism of education in a colonial régime is that of producing men and women with no capacity for originality and initiative, incapable of practical application and self-employment with neither pride nor faith in their African background and ignorant of their African history.

The governments of our new countries realising this misfortune are going to make positive attempts to eradicate those weaknesses.

Success in the application of such new educational policies is going to depend on our understanding of the problems and the methods proposed for curing them. Are we going to be ready for example to accept African history, when it is taught in our schools, as history? How shall we understand the new approach except by being in touch through organisations such as Teacher Parent Associations and Educational Advisory Councils where an exchange of views is possible?

While talking about education we cannot omit to point out the need for repairing the ethical codes that generate strength and decency in our social living. Again an unconfused viewpoint is a necessary starting point for this reconstruction, and it is right inside our homes that this work should begin.

I am personally alarmed by certain evidences of a deliberate cultivation of a class mentality in our society. Are we going to allow Africa's finest achievement in developing societies that are not plagued by stark class differences so to be imperilled? Or are we going to fight it? And what then are the methods we should employ?

Ladies and gentlemen, these are some of the real issues facing us for which a conference such as this must find practical solutions.

Disturbers at County Council lead against Congo meeting Civil Defence contribution

By OLIVER MAHLER

AT a meeting entitled "The Congo—What Next?" organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom on July 22, Fenner Brockway opened the meeting with a warning to would-be disturbers of the proceedings to leave, and indeed not long after during a long impassioned speech by Dr. Hastings Banda, President of the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland, the disturbances came—as much from the audience as from the hecklers.

Two men and a girl shouted in chorus: "Lies! Rubbish! What about the white men?" and were met by great hostility from the crowd. Boos, jeers and cries of "Throw them out! Sit on them!" accompanied by stewards' eager and unopposed efforts to eject them.

The enthusiasm and sincerity of Dr. Banda and the keen logic and good-humoured sarcasm of Enoch Dumbutshema, a journalist representing the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, built up a good case for African self-government and Pan-Africanism, and against the separation of the Katanga from the Congo.

Other speakers were Mainza Chona, Deputy President of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, John Baird, MP, editor of *Free Algeria*, who emphasised that "nationalism is not enough—it must lead to internationalism and socialism," and John Stonehouse, MP, one of a list of arbitrarily prohibited immigrants to Southern Rhodesia.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Youth march

A GROUP of Islington, London, youth organisations, headed by the Islington Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, recently formed a committee to arrange co-operative peace demonstrations, the first of which will take place on September 3 in the form of a march. It will commence at the Archway at 3 p.m. and finish with a mass meeting at Highbury Corner.—ELLEN MEEK, 57 Highbury Park, London, N.S.

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE Carmarthenshire County Council is to reconsider a motion to refuse to pay its Civil Defence contribution.

The motion, proposed at a recent Council meeting by Alderman Gwynfor Evans, President of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Party, read:

"... noting that the Government has declared that it has no intention of trying to defend the people of our countries in the case of nuclear war, this council will make its aversion to this monstrous policy clear by refusing in the next financial year to contribute its quota to the pittance given to Civil Defence."



Alderman Evans quoted Duncan Sandys, when Minister of Defence: "We have taken a very bold step in deciding not to do the impossible. We decided not to defend the whole country but to defend only our bomber bases."

Alderman Evans continued: "Though there is no defence, Civil Defence lulls people into a false sense of security by creating the impression that some defence is possible. I respect those who are active in it; but we have to recognise that its main purpose for the Government is psychological. It is a form of propaganda to make the Government's nuclear policy acceptable. "Today we co-operate in a policy we abhor by budgeting £10,000 a year for Civil Defence. If we refuse to make that contribution, the country and the Govern-

national conference, accepted and recommended by National Executive, to be noted by the Campaign's delegates to the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms, and also in any other activities with anti-nuclear campaigns outside Europe—

1. "We recognise and assert that every human being, of whatever nationality, has a moral right and duty to demand of each of the nuclear Powers directly, that it never test another nuclear weapon, whatever any other nation may do, and

ment will know that this Council will have no part in this policy of annihilation.

"We can best serve the people as has been well said, 'by making clear to those in power in this way that there is only one defence against a nuclear war, and that is peace.'

More support for Welsh Party

PLAID CYMRU, the Party for Welsh freedom, has gained greater support, morally and financially, from prominent people and public leaders in Wales during the last 12 months than ever before, and very many persons who are in non-political posts or in the Civil Service have given their support privately.

This is said in the Party's Annual Report, published recently, and presented to the Plaid Conference in Cardiff last week.

"Welsh unity," the Report adds, "is building up surely and steadily. During the last 11 months 1,070 new members joined Plaid Cymru, bringing the Party's total membership up to over 15,000."

Plaid Cymru is one of the few national movements which have renounced the use of the methods of war and violence.

principle applies to nuclear weapons production; and

2. that co-operation with organisations of other countries in international opposition to nuclear weapons is admissible only if these organisations, like the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, make no less a demand of their own government and all its allies than of other governments."

No doubt all would wish to add to (1) the demand for no more maintenance of

PEACE NEWS, August 5, 1960—9

"DON'T DO IT"

—advice before Hiroshima

Before the Bomb was dropped on Hiroshima a Committee was set up in the USA to report to the US Secretary of War on the social and political implications of the atomic weapon. Few people are aware that the Committee reported in June, 1945, in these words which were published in Peace News in 1950:

"Russia and even allied countries which bear less mistrust of our ways and intentions, as well as neutral countries, may be deeply shocked by this step. It may well be difficult to persuade the world that a nation which was capable of secretly preparing and suddenly releasing a new weapon as indiscriminate as the rocket bomb and a thousand times more destructive, is to be trusted in its proclaimed desire of having such weapons abolished by international agreement..."

"The military advantages and the saving of American lives achieved by the sudden use of atomic bombs against Japan may be outweighed by a wave of horror and revulsion sweeping over the rest of the world. . . .

"From this point of view a demonstration of the new weapon might be made before the eyes of all the United Nations on the desert or a barren island. . . . After such a demonstration the weapon might perhaps be used against Japan if the sanction of the United Nations (and public opinion at home) was obtained after a preliminary ultimatum to Japan to surrender. . . .

"We believe that these considerations make the use of nuclear bombs for an early attack against Japan inadvisable. If the United States were to be the first to release this new means of indiscriminate destruction of mankind, she would sacrifice public support throughout the world, precipitate the race for armaments, and prejudice the possibility of reaching an international agreement on the future control of such weapons."

PUBLICITY FOR PN PAMPHLET

Two South African newspapers, "The Daily Dispatch" and the "Christian Recorder,"

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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Some things to work for

I HAVE received a copy of *Peace News* with thanks. The young people of Iraq are really interested in the ideals as set forth in your movement. The possibility that one day all men will live in peace and complete harmony gives the youth of not only my country but of all countries something to work for together.

I will be a regular reader of *Peace News*.—FALIH H. AL-ZUBAIDI, Telegraph Typing Section, Central Telegraph Office, Baghdad, Iraq.

International CND

WE have been told (PN July 1) of preparations afoot for an international "non-political" conference on disarmament. (It is not yet clear if it is to be of peace movements, or of specifically anti-nuclear weapons movements or of prominent individuals without specific representation.)

What, we are forced to ask, is to be the precise function of this proposed international conference? One thing is certain. If it is dominated by public speeches in big, vague, general terms on our predicament, it will not only do no good; it will do harm. It can only justify the time, thought and money which will be put into it if all its work is strictly practical, in strictly particular terms.

There is already a guiding principle for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in its international work, a touchstone for determining the validity of many proposed co-operations.

This is a resolution, to the CND 1959

national conference, accepted and recommended by National Executive, to be noted by the Campaign's delegates to the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms, and also in any other activities with anti-nuclear campaigns outside Europe—

1. "We recognise and assert that every human being, of whatever nationality, has a moral right and duty to demand of each of the nuclear Powers directly, that it never test another nuclear weapon, whatever any other nation may do; and to require of any and every other government that it never start to test nuclear weapons . . . and that the same prin-

ciple applies to nuclear weapons production; and . . .

2. that co-operation with organisations of other countries in international opposition to nuclear weapons is admissible only if these organisations, like the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, make no less a demand of their own government and all its allies than of other governments."

No doubt all would wish to add to (1) the demand for no more maintenance of nuclear weapon stocks. — GERALD PETCH, 22 Lanchester Rd, Highgate, London, N.6.

Are you going on holiday? Make your holiday even happier by helping the Yas Mina orphanage feed its 100 boys

**NO
GIFT**

**NO
FOOD**



**YOUR
GIFT**

**THEIR
FOOD**

WAR ON WANT: YAS MINA

Who are they? They are Algerian Refugee Children. Tiny little people orphans. For months they have been wandering among the rocks and caves hunting for food which they rarely got. Frightened at being lost . . . longing for love and friendship, the little people's eyes spoke of no hope.

Now 100 of them have been gathered into a home at "YAS MINA." The home will cost £2,500 a year to support.

Yas Mina is near Tunis. If you visit it you will find happy children, loved and cared for. Eyes are now shining and health restored. You will not find much furniture. Food is not fancy. Education is simple, but they are SAFE. A large garden surrounds Yas Mina and the children can play in its area. The devotion of the staff is great and the whole atmosphere is happy. The dreadful past will be forgotten.

Many of these orphans have been wandering about for 4 years, begging for food from people who, themselves, are dying of hunger. Some of these little people are in a bad way. To allay the agony of hunger they have eaten earth over a long period. This has formed solid lumps and causes distress and illness. With care they will get well. Soon we hope to start another home if support is given.

Will you help us to support this act of mercy? Your gift, large or small, will be welcomed by the Hon. Treasurer: Rt. Hon. JAMES GRIFFITHS, P.C., M.P., War on Want, 9 Madeley Road, Ealing, London, W.5. Every penny donated goes direct. What about a collection at Office, Shop or Factory?

to Japan to surrender . . .

"We believe that these considerations make the use of nuclear bombs for an early attack against Japan inadvisable. If the United States were to be the first to release this new means of indiscriminate destruction of mankind, she would sacrifice public support throughout the world, precipitate the race for armaments, and prejudice the possibility of reaching an international agreement on the future control of such weapons."

PUBLICITY FOR PN PAMPHLET

Two South African newspapers, "The Daily Dispatch" and the "Christian Recorder," have given publicity to the Peace News pamphlet, *The Meaning of Aldermaston*, by Vera Brittain ("Peace News" 4d.).



How the News Chronicle told its readers about the bombing of Hiroshima.

1945 It was press day for Peace News when news came of the bombing. A half-column was hastily inserted on the front page beneath headlines: "Almighty Atom: A Challenge to Humanity." We wrote:

"In realising one of their dreams, scientists have made more horrible the nightmare of humanity. The production of the atom bomb is going to have unpredictable and revolutionary consequences . . . human life at a civilised level lies under the dark shadow of a threatened self-destruction."

A fortnight later Dr. Gordon Rogers of the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, described for our readers the technicalities of the new weapon. He expressed doubts about the probability of international control:

"All the principles, including the mode of separation of U235, are well known to scientists the world over. The facts may be kept secret but will be discovered independently by anyone interested."

Of the men who had handed the new weapons over to the politicians and militarists he wrote:

" . . . humanity will not hold guiltless those scientists who have consented to this tremendous abdication of their own moral responsibility."

The National Peace Council held an emergency public meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, on August 31 attended by 2,000 people.

Meetings and protests from scientists

turned from six months in the USA, said she had found Americans feeling far from secure in their monopoly of the Bomb. They were obsessed with fear and suspicion.

1948 With "Atomic Energy Weeks" being sponsored by the Government, pacifists and Quakers in Coventry, Bristol and London organised meetings and poster parades. Peace News called for volunteers to sell the paper and give out pamphlets when the "Atomic Train" visited Paddington Station. The Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation kept up leaflet distribution near the Train for a fortnight. "Facts about Atomic Energy" by Kathleen Lonsdale and "War of the Hemispheres" by Ritchie Calder were two of the pamphlets.

The first of many post-war reprints from Peace News was made available for this campaign: "Atom ARP is Tragic Folly" by Kathleen Lonsdale.

A packed meeting in Friends House, organised by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, heard Kathleen Lonsdale declare:

"When atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki people were horrified, not so much at the deaths of thousands of Japanese, as at the realisation that a new crime against humanity had been invented. The sense of guilt remains like a deep-seated neurosis, and men cannot get rid of it so long as they choose war as an instrument of justice."

"If we cannot meet unChristian situations, unChristian people, in a Christian way, what is the use of our Chris-

HIROSHIMA

FIFTEEN YEARS ago, on August 7, the world was shaken by headlines announcing the arrival of the atomic bomb. People were horrified by the new weapon and the thought of what it meant for the future. Although the outcry against the bomb soon faded into the background of the clamour

Michael Howard was Chairman. The meeting sent a message of encouragement and support to the Mayor of Hiroshima.

In September Russia announced that she knew how to make the Bomb. In a call to "Destroy the Atom Bombs Now," the Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, Vera Brittain, declared:

"This is the moment when the leaders of Britain and the United States of America should at least declare that they will destroy their stocks of atomic bombs and the formulas that produced them within a given period if the USSR will do the same, and submit to inspection by a neutral commission. . . ."

1950 In April a hundred research workers and teachers of science at Cambridge University signed a petition urging the Government to "make a statement condemning the production of the H-bomb." Pressure on Church leaders was growing. With a war being waged in Korea, Trafalgar Square was booked by the Peace Pledge Union with the support of pacifist and non-pacifist organisations for a Hiroshima Day meeting on the Sunday of Bank Holiday weekend. Some 3,000 people heard these speakers: Dr. Soper, Dora Russell, Sybil Morrison, James Hudson, MP, Prof. E. H. S. Burhop, Vera Brittain with Stuart Morris as Chairman.

All over the world new peace committees set up by Communists were active in collecting signatures for an international petition urging the prohibition of atomic weapons.

1951 A call was sent out from California in seven languages by the International Peace Day Committee urging the commemoration of Hiroshima Day.

From Japan Dr. Tomiko Kora, a member of the Diet, reported a programme adopted for the Day by a number of religious and

a B-36 bomber over Bikini. On March 19 Peace News published what scanty information was available of injuries to 236 Marshall Islanders and 23 Japanese fishermen as a result of the test. The scientists had miscalculated. News of the disaster spread and April 2 saw the front page of Peace News filled with nation-wide protests against further tests.

A Hull Quaker, Alec Horsley, in a letter to Peace News, called for direct action with these words:

"Supposing a number of pacifists hired a fishing boat and went out into the area in which the next H-bomb explosion is planned, by what right would they be diverted from using the open sea ?

"Surely to arrest them would be piracy and to carry on with the hydrogen bomb explosion would be murder. Has this point been properly investigated and are not some of us willing to take the risk ?

For days on end demonstrators maintained a poster parade in Piccadilly Circus. A National Petition Campaign was launched by members of the Labour Party. It urged the Government to "take immediate initiative to bring about a (three Power) meeting . . . for the purpose of considering anew the problem of the reduction and control of armaments"

The ad hoc meeting to discuss the campaign had unfortunately divided and by 24 votes to 20 rejected a proposal that the Government be urged to "renounce the manufacture and use of H-bombs and refuse the facilities of British bases for their storage or use."

In May London saw a large anti-H-bomb march when 900 people followed Dr. Soper through the West End after his Sunday evening service in Kingsway Hall.

Hiroshima Day was remembered in Peace News on August 6. A picture recalled that in an elementary school in Japan

"All the principles, including the mode of separation of U235, are well known to scientists the world over. The facts may be kept secret but will be discovered independently by anyone interested."

Of the men who had handed the new weapons over to the politicians and militarists he wrote:

"... humanity will not hold guiltless those scientists who have consented to this tremendous abdication of their own moral responsibility."

The National Peace Council held an emergency public meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, on August 31 attended by 2,000 people.

Meetings and protests from scientists made news, but by the year's end came the shades of the cold war. Little was known of what had actually happened in Hiroshima.

Dr. Soper chaired a "No Atomic War" rally early in the year with American and Dutch as well as British speakers. But the first anniversary of Hiroshima (although commemorated in that city) appeared to pass unnoticed in Europe. In October Peace News carried an extract from the New Yorker in which a Mr. John Hersey described eye witness accounts of the Hiroshima bombing, later to be published in book form under the title "Hiroshima."

1947 "Government to Develop Atomic Explosives." Giving this news, Peace News reported that Dr. William Penney would be in charge of developments and that Prof. J. D. Cockcroft had refused to take part in any military aspects of atomic energy. Again the anniversary passed without remembrance of Hiroshima, though on August 8 Peace News reported America having a stock of 396 atomic bombs and production running at the rate of 500 a year, each 28 times as powerful as the original bomb and capable of devastating 464 square miles.

In November the editor, F. A. Lea, interviewed Kathleen Lonsdale. To the question: "Do you think that British neutrality would serve in any way to prevent a Soviet-US war?" the distinguished scientist replied:

"I think if we not only proclaimed our intention of dispensing with the manufacture of atomic weapons, but invited the representatives of other countries to come and inspect our plant, it would certainly help to clear the air internationally."

At a "No Atomic War" meeting in the same month Kathleen Lonsdale, just re-

by Kathleen Lonsdale.

A packed meeting in Friends House, organised by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, heard Kathleen Lonsdale declare:

"When atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki people were horrified, not so much at the deaths of thousands of Japanese, as at the realisation that a new crime against humanity had been invented. The sense of guilt remains like a deep-seated neurosis, and men cannot get rid of it so long as they choose war as an instrument of justice.

"If we cannot meet unChristian situations, unChristian people, in a Christian way, what is the use of our Christianity?"

In May Peace News reported that for the past two years on August 6 the people of Hiroshima had commemorated the dropping of the Bomb and that John Hersey, Vera Brittain and others supported the idea of the day being commemorated as International Peace Day.

On August 6, 1948, Peace News reported:

"Today, the Third Anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima, is being observed in many countries as the first World Peace Day."

There were to be mass demonstrations in Hiroshima and Tokio. Twenty-three other countries were reported having ceremonies or meetings.

Also in August the Cominform launched the first of a series of conferences at Wroclaw in Poland which led to the launching of the Stockholm Peace Petition.

Later Peace News reported that 15,000 people had gathered around the Hiroshima Memorial Tower of Peace and heard their Mayor, Shinzo Hamai, deliver an urgent call to the peoples of all countries to work for disarmament and the abolition of war.

British fighter aircraft, it was reported, were ordered to fly low over the meeting to drown some of the speeches.

In reply to a message of support from the British Peace Pledge Union the Mayor of Hiroshima wrote: "The people of Hiroshima are with you as one in your worthy cause for peace . . ."

1949 Hiroshima Day plans included large meetings in other Japanese cities, Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya and Kobe. In London a Hyde Park platform had Frank Beswick MP, former Flight Lieutenant and Under Secretary of State for Air, Stuart Morris and Dr. Posin, an American atomic scientist.

weekend. Some 3,000 people heard these speakers: Dr. Soper, Dora Russell, Sybil Morrison, James Hudson, MP, Prof. E. H. S. Burhop, Vera Brittain with Stuart Morris as Chairman.

All over the world new peace committees set up by Communists were active in collecting signatures for an international petition urging the prohibition of atomic weapons.

1951 A call was sent out from California in seven languages by the International Peace Day Committee urging the commemoration of Hiroshima Day.

From Japan Dr. Tomiko Kora, a member of the Diet, reported a programme adopted for the Day by a number of religious and political groups:

- (1) No rearmament of Japan;
- (2) No amendment or emasculation of the war-renouncing clause of Japan's constitution;
- (3) No treaty, until one can be obtained with all the Powers that were at war with Japan, including USSR;
- (4) An end to the occupation.

"We of Nagasaki" was published by Victor Gollancz. But in Britain the sixth anniversary found the peace movement involved in attempts to halt the war in Korea.

1952 The year which saw the first demonstrations by the Non - Violent Resistance Group at the atomic weapons plant being constructed at Aldermaston found attention in Britain around Hiroshima Day focussed on the use of napalm (petrol jelly) bombs in Korea.

In Hiroshima the Mayor spoke of good will and forgiveness at the seventh anniversary gathering. His words found few echoes in the West.

On August 8 Britain announced the closing of a sea area off the north-west coast of Australia for an atomic weapon test.

The date of the test being secret, the Peace Pledge Union had tens of thousands of protest leaflets distributed to groups throughout Britain for distribution immediately news of the test hit the newspaper headlines. Poster parades were also planned to take place in the evening of A-test day.

1953 A renewed attempt to break down public apathy was made with a special Hiroshima Day issue of Peace News. The Mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki wrote to Peace News expressing appreciation of this move.

1954 The year opened with the news that America was to drop an H-bomb from

tive to bring about a (three Power) meeting . . . for the purpose of considering anew the problem of the reduction and control of armaments . . .

The ad hoc meeting to discuss the campaign had unfortunately divided and by 24 votes to 20 rejected a proposal that the Government be urged to "renounce the manufacture and use of H-bombs and refuse the facilities of British bases for their storage or use."

In May London saw a large anti-H-bomb march when 900 people followed Dr. Soper through the West End after his Sunday evening service in Kingsway Hall.

Hiroshima Day was remembered in Peace News on August 6. A picture recalled that in an elementary school in Japan one out of ten children still bore the marks of atomic injuries inflicted nine years previously.

In New York poster parades outside the Japanese Embassy expressed regret at the injuries to the fishermen which followed the March test.

Before the year ended a new voice was heard: that of Dr. Albert Schweitzer in a Nobel Peace Prize Lecture, but Peace News was the only newspaper to run the full text. On December 31 Dr. Soper and three Labour MPs delivered the 500,000 H-bomb petition signatures to No. 10 Downing Street.

1955 On February 25 Peace News published a special issue on the menace to health of nuclear weapon tests. A few days later Mary Harrison started a 90-mile one-woman H-bomb protest march from Salisbury to London, where poster parades welcomed her.

Shortly after Aneurin Bevan had declared at a Tribune meeting in March that "it would be a good thing if we had the courage to be pacifists," Sir Richard Acland resigned his seat in the hope that a by-election would be fought on the H-bomb issue in his Gravesend constituency.

Sir Richard told Peace News: "I am not proposing that Britain should be totally disarmed. I am only insisting that we should not make the H-bomb, the A-bomb, or the strategic bomber force."

"I deployed in the House of Commons the arguments which move me to this conclusion.

"They are summed up in my belief that without these weapons we shall have a better chance of playing an effective part in the quarter-century or perhaps half-century task of assuaging the ghastly tension between USSR and USA—the two giants who have it in their power to

REMEMBERED

of the cold war, some glimpses of the way in which the idea of Hiroshima Day and the demand for the abolition of weapons of mass destruction have been kept alive are to be found in this year by year survey, mainly culled from the pages of Peace News.

destroy each other (as well as perhaps a number of third parties) at almost a moment's notice.

"I shall be glad of support from anyone who will give it on this understanding."

At the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters the staff and voluntary helpers addressed his 50,000 election envelopes, but a general election intervened and swamped the Gravesend contest.

The tenth anniversary was marked by the launching of a tree planting campaign in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and in Britain by the publication by Victor Gollancz of "Hiroshima Diary," a doctor's eye-witness account of August 6, 1945.

1956 The Bishops of Chichester and Exeter were speaking against the manufacture of H-bombs in Britain as the new year opened. In February peace movement history was made when the BBC put the H-bomb issue on the air by broadcasting a National Peace Council meeting—a debate on "The Morality of Nuclear Warfare." In March Bristol Quakers called for nation-wide action by Christians to end the manufacture and testing of H-bombs by Britain.

With public unease on the subject of fallout growing, Peace News asked Professor Kathleen Lonsdale to examine the Government report on "The Hazards to Man of Nuclear and Allied Radiations," and to state the grounds on which peace workers should oppose future weapon tests.

She listed these five reasons for opposing tests :

- (1) That they are wrong;
- (2) That they result from and cause suspicion and enmity;
- (3) That they cause suffering and death, unnecessarily, to millions of "lesser creatures";
- (4) That they are a gross misuse of the

the Toldas Group, protesting at the proposed British test in 1957.

1957 January saw 100 MPs signing a motion "that violence can never solve the problems of modern society," and that the use of armed force by any nation creates a danger to peace and freedom.

February saw the setting up of a National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests and the renewal in Peace News of the suggestion that ships should sail into the Christmas Island area where a British test was to take place.

In March Peace News reported that the proposals in its columns had been put before the Japanese Cabinet.

The discussion at Cabinet level followed the despatch of a letter from Peace News to the Japanese Council against A- and H-bombs asking if it could arrange for any fishing boats or other vessels to stay in the area, since British people were ready to go out to the Pacific and be passengers.

"It is felt here that if an international team could be on the boats, world public opinion would rally to support those sailing into the area and there would be a great deal more pressure put on governments to stop the tests.

"The War Resisters International Headquarters here in London are also considering whether they can co-operate by alerting their members in Australia and New Zealand."

The movement against tests grew as four Russian explosions took place in April. An Emergency Committee for Direct Action Against Nuclear War was attempting to find ways of getting Harold Steele and some fourteen other volunteers out to the Christmas Island area. Harold Steele arrived in Tokio as the British test took place.

An appeal to halt the tests from Dr. Schweitzer was broadcast over the Norwegian State Radio in Norwegian, English



This Cenotaph marks the explosion centre at Hiroshima.

Sixty out of 127 Labour Party Conference resolutions dealing with nuclear weapons pressed for unilateral action by Britain.

By October the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests was able to call a National Conference of more than 100 delegates from local committees all over the UK.

In November Harold Steele and other Direct Action Committee volunteers for the Christmas Island protest met with participants in the 1952 atomic test at Aldermaston.

the Chairmanship of Canon Collins was announced.

In the USA a ketch, the "Golden Rule," was being fitted out for a voyage to the Pacific to protest against a forthcoming US test.

Thousands flocked to CND meetings and joined in the Easter March to Aldermaston, the first of many mass marches that year.

Writing from the atom-bombed city about

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- (3) That they cause suffering and death, unnecessarily, to millions of "lesser creatures";
- (4) That they are a gross misuse of the world's resources;
- (5) That they add unnecessarily, even if at present very little, to the world's radiation hazards.

Shortly before Hiroshima Day Peace News confirmed, by a telephone call to him at the Academy of Sciences in Moscow, that the Russian scientist Peter Kapitza had refused to work on thermo-nuclear weapons. It had been reported that because of this he had been under house arrest in Russia for seven years.

In our Hiroshima Day issue (in which appeared another letter from the Mayor, this time appealing for the ending of tests) we said editorially :

"It is estimated that Britain alone has sufficient nuclear explosive in its own possession to destroy every large city in the world and probably most of the large towns as well.

"These things give some measure of the power of destruction that mankind has now arrived at—eleven years after the growing tendency to treat men, women and children as worthless flies had reached its worst manifestation at Hiroshima.

"In contemplating this development on this eleventh anniversary it is appropriate that we should pay honour to a nuclear scientist who has refused to engage in work to assist in its advance on the moral ground that he had a conscientious objection to putting science to these purposes.

"He was a Russian.

"It was under the Stalin régime that he made his refusal effective.

"His name was Peter Kapitza."

Although Hiroshima Day and the question of tests was clouded by the news of Colonel Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal, some 50,000 individual letters were sent to MPs, under a scheme organised by

ments to stop the tests.

The War Resisters International Headquarters here in London are also considering whether they can co-operate by alerting their members in Australia and New Zealand."

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An appeal to halt the tests from Dr. Schweitzer was broadcast over the Norwegian State Radio in Norwegian, English, French, German and Russian. The full text, printed in Peace News (our air mail edition was the first full text to reach the USA), was reprinted again and again until over 60,000 copies had been distributed.

In May, as plans were being completed for a silent march of women, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd suggested that a good deal of the agitation against nuclear weapons came from Communist sources.

The day after his broadcast the following statement was given to the Press Association by Arthur Goss, Chairman of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests; J. Allen Skinner, Secretary of the Emergency Committee for Direct Action Against Nuclear War; and Hugh Brock, Editor of Peace News :

"As representatives of those who helped to voice the widespread opposition in Britain against the forthcoming H-bomb tests, we declare Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's suggestion that the opposition is Communist-inspired to be entirely false.

"Sponsors of the National Council and the Emergency Committee include such well-known figures as Earl Russell, Dr. Soper, Professor Barbara Wootton and E. M. Forster, while Peace News has long been known as a newspaper without any links with the Communist or any other political party."

In the USA eleven pacifists were arrested on Hiroshima Day (there was intense activity in Japan) as they attempted to enter the Nevada atomic weapons testing site in a Gandhi-type protest against US tests. A test explosion due to take place that day was postponed for 24 hours "because of high winds."

The TUC in September demanded (in a call to the Government, not to the workers involved) an immediate halt to the making and testing of nuclear bombs.

This Cenotaph marks the explosion centre at Hiroshima.

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By October the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests was able to call a National Conference of more than 100 delegates from local committees all over the UK.

In November Harold Steele and other Direct Action Committee volunteers for the Christmas Island protest met with participants in the 1952 demonstrations at Aldermaston and decided to go on a three or four day pilgrimage from Trafalgar Square to Aldermaston the following year holding meetings each night on the way.

In America a National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, launched by Quakers and pacifists, placed full-page paid advertisements in The New York Times, Washington Post and other leading newspapers demanding an end to US H-tests.

As Christmas approached MPs were putting their signatures to a House of Commons Motion protesting against planes loaded with H-bombs patrolling the skies above Britain.

The New Year opened with the news that the sponsors of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests were meeting with a number of scientists and others interested to discuss a broader policy than the abolition of tests.

Events moved swiftly in mid-January. Canon Collins made this challenging call from the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral :

"Let us ask the British people to insist that negotiations take place between Britain and Russia without, on our side, any strings, and without insisting upon assurances on the other side. Let us try to persuade the British people to refuse any missile bases in Great Britain and to insist that no aeroplanes stationed here be equipped to carry nuclear weapons.

A keynote speech was made by Dr. Donald Soper at Mansfield, Notts, where, speaking to an audience of 500, he declared that the British people "probably had not the freedom to get the Americans to go home," but had the power which "will put an end to this miserable and fatal process of experimentation with H-bomb weapons."

The following week the launching of a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament under

the Chairmanship of Canon Collins was announced.

In the USA a ketch, the "Golden Rule," was being fitted out for a voyage to the Pacific to protest against a forthcoming US test.

Thousands flocked to CND meetings and joined in the Easter March to Aldermaston, the first of many mass marches that year.

Writing from the atom-bombed city about the Thirteenth Hiroshima Day, Pastor Tanimoto pointed out that "even today, 13 years after, a number of the survivors are still suffering from that instant tragedy, and others from the terror it struck into their hearts."

In Japan 10,000 people inspired by Aldermaston were participants in a 620-mile march from Hiroshima and Tokio.

On Hiroshima Day there were pickets at the Aldermaston plant.

In almost every country of the world some kind of movement was afoot to end the menace of nuclear tests and the threat of nuclear war.

The Fourteenth Hiroshima Day was commemorated in London's St. Paul's Cathedral (traditionally associated with the pageantry that accompanies the celebration of national victories and triumphs) by Christian Action and the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends.

A Quaker, Robert Davis, in a grey suit accompanied Canon Collins and the Choir in procession. A unique occasion in the Cathedral's history.

In Hiroshima thirty thousand people were gathered at a memorial service.

In California a 60-mile march was drawing to a close.

An open-air meeting was taking place in Australia. South African students were discussing nuclear war in Natal University.

In the sunshine outside St. Paul's Cathedral were members of the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament picking up their banners for a Whitehall picket which proclaimed "No More Hiroshimas."

Public opinion was stirring. . . . But somewhere planes were flying with loads more devastating than anything Hiroshima had known. Hiroshima Day 1960 would still see the challenge of the Bomb facing mankind.



1258 August 5, 1960 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

In PN next week The new Cuba

US journalist William Worthy reports on "a formidable social experiment" after the Batista dictatorship: the transformation of Havana's exclusive Biltmore Yacht and Country Club into the Cubanacan Workers' Social Circle—open to all.

Bomber base FROM PAGE ONE

were Canon L. John Collins, Mervyn Jones, Dick Kelly, MP, and the Rev. Leonard Bond. Telegrams of solidarity and congratulation were sent to both the Foulness and Finningley prisoners from the meeting. The Finningley prisoners will be released from Armley, Leeds, and Strangeways, Manchester at about 8 a.m. today (Friday) where they will be met by local supporters.

Meanwhile the Foulness prisoners remain in jail. The next London march in their support on Saturday, August 13, will leave Bryanston St., Marble Arch, at 2.30 p.m.

FINNINGLEY PRISONERS

Mavis Alman, 19, student; Pat Blackmore, 18, typist; Elaine Rich, 20, nursery nurse; Mary Ringsleben, 32, administrative assistant; Ruth Stoloff, 58, journalist; Carol Taylor, 21, teacher; Jackie Weathall, 19, secretary; Richard Atkinson, 22, student; Michael Biggs, 17, student.

David Britton, 22, student; John Dennithorne, 65, warden of educational settlement; Patrick Farrer, 28, labourer; Len Gibson, 40, agricultural engineer; Kevin Gould, 27, student; Alistair Graham, 24, journalist; Dr. John Killip, 26, biochemist; Oliver Mahler, 28, labourer; Derek Mather, 20, clerk; Michael Woodhouse, 22, labourer; Tony Weaver, 46, university lecturer.

1945

The men in Modder B

APPEAL GOES TO HAMMARSKJOELD

Peace News Reporter

FOLLOWING the disclosures in *Peace News* last Friday and in the *News Chronicle* on Monday that thousands of Africans are being detained at the Modder B mine compound in South Africa, the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London has sent this cable to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the UN Secretary General:

"Implore investigation South African prison camp conditions especially near Benoni. Demand release all detainees and end emergency."

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has urged that all who are appalled by these reports should sign the petition now circulating which asks for the release of those detained without trial.

Cables should also be sent to the Minister of Justice, Union Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa, asking for the release of the detainees.

"Doing this while Mr. Hammarskjöld is in South Africa seems to be the one chance of helping these prisoners."

Copies of the petition form may be had from the Movement's offices at 200 Gower Street, London, N.W.1.

LABOUR'S DEFENCE POLICY

Pacifists and non-pacifists must reject it out of hand

THE Labour Party's New Defence Policy Statement falls down on two cardinal points, says the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in its latest bulletin.

"It puts blind loyalty to NATO before genuine service to peace and therefore condones the prolonging of the cold war, and, secondly, by accepting the role of an expendable front-line aircraft carrier for this small vulnerable island, it exposes this country to the certainty of extinction in the event of a war which we would be powerless to prevent."

"This is a policy which all British people, pacifist and non-pacifist alike, must reject out of hand. Its strategic arguments are unsound. Its political arguments strain credulity. Its moral arguments have been lost in expediency."

Briefly

All sixth and sixth forms and some fourths

Sailing in for air base vigil



This jib-rigged sloop, the *Satyagraha*, was expected to dock last weekend near the Pease Air Force Base, New Hampshire, USA, in order that the crew might take part in a vigil.

Members of the Committee for Non-violent Action planned to station themselves at the main entrance of this Strategic Air Command Base around noon and stay there for the day in an attempt to alert airmen and civilian workers to the dangers of nuclear war inherent in the arms race.

The sloop has been sailing into naval dockyard areas along the New England coast. Activities are centred on the New London-Groton area where the Polaris missile-firing submarines are under construction.

CNVA, which uses the "ND" symbol in all its activities, rejects violence as a means of settling international disputes, opposes the arms build up by both Russia and the USA, and proposes that the USA disarm unilaterally and thus create a momentum for world disarmament.

Vicky on the Underground
100 panels are being displayed on London Underground trains showing Vicky's cartoon of the H-bomb mushroom cloud throwing its shadow in the form of a cross and bearing the words: "Where do you put your trust: in the Bomb or the Cross?" Placed there by Quakers, fifty

FINNINGLEY PRISONERS

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1945

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HOUSMANS

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condones the prolonging of the cold war, and, secondly, by accepting the role of an expendable front-line aircraft carrier for this small vulnerable island, it exposes this country to the certainty of extinction in the event of a war which we would be powerless to prevent.

"This is a policy which all British people, pacifist and non-pacifist alike, must reject out of hand. Its strategic arguments are unsound. Its political arguments strain credulity. Its moral arguments have been lost in expediency."

Briefly

All fifth and sixth forms and some fourths attended a Conference on Nuclear Disarmament at the Central Grammar School for Girls, Manchester, last month.

HIROSHIMA DAY PLANS

PPU MARCH

A poster parade or march through London is to be organised by the Peace Pledge Union on December 3, the Saturday after Prisoners for Peace Day which is on Thursday, December 1. It will aim to make known the fact that people are in prison all over the world for refusing military service or for conscientiously opposing war preparations.

FROM PAGE ONE

In Milwaukee a local Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy meeting will be opened by Rabbi Harry B. Pastor. The speakers include Dr. William Davidon, Chairman of Chicago's Atomic Securities Association.

The meeting is part of a summer campaign caravan currently stumping the USA for world disarmament, a co-operative venture known as the "1960 Campaign For Disarmament," and sponsored by leaders and officials of the American Baptist Convention, the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church, the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, the Federation of American Scientists, the National Association of Social Workers, the United World Federalists, the National Committee For a Sane Nuclear Policy, the American Friends Service Committee, the Americans for Democratic Action, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Hiroshima Day PN

Send in your orders now for PN for selling at Hiroshima week activities. Help to keep Peace News selling and the movement moving. See that this week's special Hiroshima Day issue reaches ALL your friends and contacts, and please don't forget to encourage regular subscriptions.

Please send me doz. Peace News of Aug. 5 at 5s. per doz., sale or return.

NAME ADDRESS ADDRESS

ADDRESS ADDRESS

Maître Sarda, for the defence, pointed out that in war crime cases the military prosecutor had condemned soldiers for not disobeying orders on grounds of conscience. He also said that President de Gaulle had admitted in a letter to a former Prime Minister that some legal arrangements should be made for taking into account the cases of conscientious objection.

Vicky on the Underground

100 panels are being displayed on London Underground trains showing Vicky's cartoon of the H-bomb mushroom cloud throwing its shadow in the form of a cross and bearing the words: "Where do you put your trust: in the Bomb or the Cross?" Placed there by Quakers, fifty will be displayed for three months and fifty for six months.

HIROSHIMA DAY DEMONSTRATION IN SOUTHEND

Saturday, August 6th 2.30 p.m.
Open Air Meeting — Speakers' Corner (opposite Kursaal)
March assembles — 3.30 p.m.
Southend to Chalkwell (along promenade)
Support welcome (banners and posters too)
Organised by Southend C.N.D.

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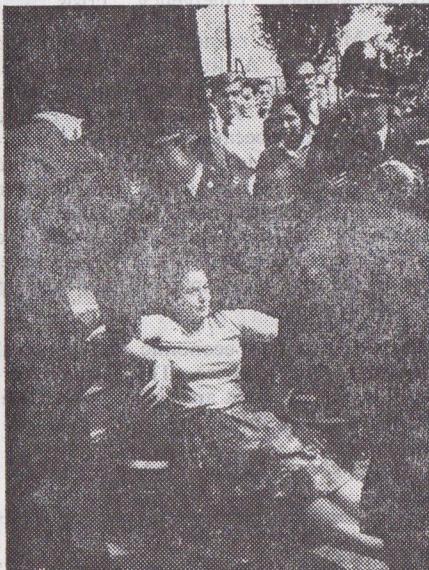
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26 arrests at Finningley H-bomber base

By IAN DIXON

ELEVEN men and seven women, supporters of the Northern Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, were on Saturday (July 30) sentenced at Doncaster West Riding Court to two periods of 7 days' imprisonment (to run concurrently) for non-violently obstructing the entrance to Finningley H-bomber base. Two men who paid a £2 fine and were "bound over to keep the peace" for 12 months were released after the court hearing.

The demonstrators, who had slept in a church hall in Doncaster on the previous evening, assembled at the gates of the base



Harrington Rocket Base demonstrator, Mavis Alman, is arrested at Finningley.

Shires Photography

midday Saturday. Messages of support had been received from the Ghana CND, the Foulness prisoners and others. At 12.58 p.m., under the "Operation Finningley" banner, they marched in column up to the closed gates where they squatted while 21-year-old Carol Taylor from Manchester made a statement.

The demonstrators were cautioned to no effect. The gates were then opened and a British Railways lorry which had entered the base shortly before the demonstration had begun and parked behind the guard-

house nosed its way forward. After further cautioning the police signalled to Black Marias which backed across the road from the nearby RAF married quarters. Amidst swarms of press and cameramen, and the cheering, singing and clapping of about two hundred supporters, the demonstrators were picked up and driven off in three batches to Doncaster West Riding Police Headquarters.

The Black Marias (closely followed by direct action supporters in cars), were jammed for a time in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament supporting march, but soon dropped out and sped off to Doncaster, where placard bearing vigilers cheered the prisoners into the back yard of the police station.

At a special hearing at Doncaster West Riding Court later that afternoon Leonard Bird, for the defence, stressed that the demonstrators had remained completely non-violent and had at all stages been quite open and courteous.

One of the prisoners, Mary Ringsleben, secretary of the NDAC, told the court:

"The peace we are breaking is organised violence. It is organised against a few of us at Finningley now; it will be organised against whole nations in the future."

Three other political statements were made in court. One defendant refused to plead or recognise the right of the law to uphold "a wanton misuse of public property."

The magistrate in passing sentence said: "To a great extent you have our sympathy. It is your methods we dislike."

In a final CND rally at Doncaster Racecourse John Rex, lecturer in sociology at Leeds University, told supporters from all over Yorkshire that recent "manipulations of the democratic processes" made direct action doubly necessary. Other speakers

ON BACK PAGE



NEVER AGAIN! It was a little atom bomb, now known as a strategic weapon that made this child one of the victims of World War II. Tomorrow, Saturday, on the fifteenth anniversary of the dropping of the first atom bomb, he and tens of thousands of fellow victims will be remembered all over the world.

YARMOUTH, BRIGHTON, TORQUAY TO GET FACTS ABOUT H-BOMB

Hiroshima Day plans

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

TOMORROW, Saturday, on the anniversary of Hiroshima, holiday makers at three of Britain's largest seaside resorts will be shown what would happen in the area if a modern 10 megaton H-bomb fell there.

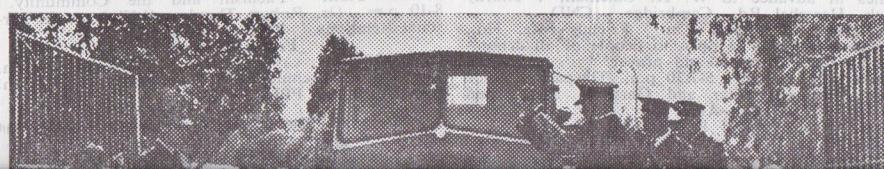
The three towns, **Great Yarmouth, Brighton** and **Torquay** will be rallying points for nuclear disarmament campaigners from all over Britain.

Marches, open-air meetings, vigils, and at Brighton the planting of a memorial tree at the Quaker centre form part of the intensive programme arranged for the weekend.

Special 4ft. x 2ft. placards will be displayed on the various perimeters of the area of damage and special "lollipops"

Youth groups in **London** and **Birmingham** are to maintain vigils from Friday midnight to Saturday midnight in remembrance of the Hiroshima victims.

A petition, signed by all those who have taken part in the London demonstration, will be handed into 10 Downing Street urging Her Majesty's Government to give a lead to the world by unilaterally renouncing nuclear weapons to minimise the risk of



and interpretations will be out of date before the printer's ink has dried.

Peter Ritner has written a book, *THE DEATH OF AFRICA*, which, at least in part, is a survey of present-day Africa. But because of the rapidity of change on the continent, sections in it on the Congo and French territories, for instance, are already outdated. Also, the author's conclusion that Sir Roy Welensky will get "more or less what he wants" from the British when the talks take place in London on the future of the Federation is open to considerably more question than when Ritner wrote the words.

Nevertheless, this is a valuable book. It is not particularly unique in those sections of it surveying political conditions in the various territories. Rather its uniqueness lies in its basic interpretation of the longer-term outlook for independent Africa. The title suggests this interpretation and the rather morbid conclusion the author draws. Ritner is stating the thesis that Africa will "die" as far as freedom or individual opportunity is concerned unless there is some kind of massive assistance which comes from the outside, and particularly from the United States.

The reason for this conclusion is that there is an expanding population on a continent which does not have the potential for real economic growth, does not have techniques for developing even the economic potential which does exist, and does not have an educated and trained personnel to develop successfully as much of the potential for growth as does exist. Altogether the picture painted is a dark one.

In order partly to meet the challenge of this analysis, Ritner proposes massive American economic, educational, and technical assistance. He proposes that a gigantic Institute of African Affairs be established. It will have a budget of \$6,000,000,000 to \$8,000,000,000 a year. Ritner rightly points out that US policy has been geared almost completely to Europe, and that even as Washington has come to recognise the im-

portance of this reviewer's mind is—if the potential in Africa is so limited, what is the practical use of a massive development scheme? Ritner's book should serve to discourage rather than encourage the politicians in Washington from an enlarged and imaginative programme of assistance to developing Africa.

Fortunately, I believe Ritner's thesis is much too pessimistic. There is still hope that schemes such as the Volta River project in Ghana can transform the economy of that country. The mineral resources of the

Africans and the Afrikaners as antagonists, is inevitable. He is of the opinion that the African National Congress has done nothing to challenge the Government, and that the conservative leadership of men like Chief Luthuli will be swept aside by younger, more vigorous leadership in the days ahead.

Certainly there is a real possibility that the blood bath Ritner talks about may come about. But this reviewer does not accept its inevitability any more than he

sporadic violence in South Africa, and there will continue to be effective non-violent resistance campaigns. The combination of these outbreaks may have a cumulative effect on the Europeans, including the Afrikaners, that could make the transition from a European to an African-dominated country much less an anarchistic bloodletting than Ritner foresees.

In spite of these differences with Ritner's analysis, *THE DEATH OF AFRICA* is a stimulating book with a probing analysis that must be taken seriously.

The place of women in a changing continent

This is the address by Efua Sutherland, Ghanaian poet and writer, delivered at the opening of the recent Congress of African Women and Women of African Descent in Accra, Ghana. The audience included not only women from many parts of Africa but Negroes from the USA and Europe.



Cavalcade of cars in Accra—Sekou Touré, Guinea's Premier, with Dr. Nkrumah.

I am alarmed by the cultivation of class mentality in our society.

I WILL assume that we who have come together for these talks are here, not merely to be excited about the tremendous events of liberation in Africa, but for the more valuable reason that we are ready to work now for the consolidation of freedom.

The re-strengthening of Africa's creative genius depends entirely on our being able to face these challenges with honesty.

If these particular challenges are more directly posed to African women living in Africa, I would venture to pose another to women of African descent who are repre-

Strange though it may seem, we will begin with crafts, an item directly involving the distinctive artistic expression of our communities, which at the same time is bound up in an important way with the economic programmes of our new countries. In Ghana now we see the need to extend the scope and quality of craft work particularly in the rural areas where it is important to keep life stimulated and undisturbed.

Our concern about the numerous third rate products dumped on us from the outside world is preparing us for replacing that market with products bearing the stamp and personality of African craftsmanship.

Can we make a contribution to this development by working with communities of craftsmen, supplying them with new ideas for their work and organisation?

In the field of education we face a tremendous responsibility. Here perhaps more than in any other field is it important for us who begin the education of children in the home to have no confusion whatsoever about the goals and standards desirable in the new African citizen.

The greatest criticism of education in a colonial régime is that of producing men and women with no capacity for originality and initiative, incapable of practical application and self-employment with neither pride nor faith in their African background and ignorant of their African history.

The governments of our new countries realising this misfortune are going to make positive attempts to eradicate those weaknesses.

Success in the application of such new educational policies is going to depend on our understanding of the problems and the methods proposed for curing them. Are we going to be ready for example to accept African history, when it is taught in our schools, as history? How shall we understand the new approach except by being in touch through organisations such as

Indian politics

Geoffrey Carnall reviews

India Today, by Frank Moraes. Macmillan, New York. 10s. 6d. (paper), 28s. (cloth).

FRANK MORAES, a well-known Indian journalist, has written a short account of Indian politics since the war which will be useful to anyone who bears in mind the author's particular bias.

It is an intelligent statement of the point